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THE VOYAGES OF JACQUES
CARTIER



JACQUES CARTIER

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No. 11

THE VOYAGES OF JACQUES CARTIER

*Published from the originals with translations,
notes and appendices*

By

H. P. BIGGAR, B.LITT. (OXON.)

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INTRODUCTION

Since the Publication in 1843 by the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, of the last complete edition in French of the Voyages of Jacques Cartier¹, two important discoveries have been made concerning the texts of the first and second voyages. In 1863 M. Tross, the Paris bookseller, had his attention drawn to a unique copy in the British Museum of the text of Cartier's second voyage that had been published at Paris as early as 1545. This work which was acquired by the Musuem with the valuable Grenville collection², had hitherto remained completely forgotten. Although Rabelais may have read it³, La Croix du Maine and Lescarbot knew nothing of it⁴, and no copy was discoverable by Ternaux-Compans⁵ or by the editor of the 1843 Quebec edition⁶. This was partly due no doubt to the absence from the title page of any mention of Cartier's name⁷. M. Tross at once issued a reprint of this rare volume of 1545, with an introduction and

¹ *Voyages de découverte au Canada entre les années 1534 et 1542 par Jacques Quartier, Le Sieur de Roberval, Jean Alphonse de Xanctoine, &c.* réimprimés sur d'anciennes relations, et publiés sous la direction de la Société Littéraire et Historique de Québec. Québec : Imprimé chez William Cowan et Fils, 1843.

² J. T. Payne et H. Foss, *Bibliotheca Grenvilliana*, I, pt. I, addenda p. 828^b. London, 1842.

³ Cf. p. 222 *infra* note 41.

⁴ La Croix du Maine, *La Bibliothèque*, Paris, 1584, 180 : "Je n'ay point veu les memoires de ses voyages esdits pays, & ne sçay s'il les a iamaï fait imprimer." M. Falconet in the reprint of this work in 1772 (vol. I, p. 398) could only refer to Ramusio and to Marc Lescarbot. Lescarbot (*Histoire de la Nouvelle France*. Paris, 1609) never once mentions this edition of 1545.

⁵ H. Ternaux, *Bibliothèque américaine ou catalogue des ouvrages relatifs à l'Amérique qui ont paru depuis sa découverte jusqu'à l'an 1700*. Paris, 1837, p. 11, No. 51 : "Je n'en connais pas d'exemplaire."

⁶ *Voyages de découverte, etc.*, p. iii. "Le récit de son deuxième voyage fut publié en 1545, mais la Société n'en a pu découvrir aucun exemplaire."

⁷ At the Courtanvaux sale in 1783 a copy fetched only 30 sols. (J. C. Brunet, *Manuel du Libraire*, I. 1065. Paris, 1860) and at the La Serna Santander sale, ten francs. (*Catalogue des livres de la bibliothèque de M. C. de La Serna Santander rédigé et mis en ordre par lui-même*. IV, 59, No. 5799.)

notes by M. d'Avezac¹, while at the end M. François de Witt gave the variant readings of the three MSS. of this second voyage which are preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris².

The second discovery was made in Paris in 1867 when M. H. Michelant of the MSS. department of the same library unearthed there a unique MS. copy of the original French text of Cartier's first voyage³. Until then this had been known only by the translation back into French of the Italian version which Ramusio had published at Venice in 1556⁴. This French re-translation from the Italian, which had originally appeared at Rouen in 1598⁵, had been reprinted by M. Michelant just two years before⁶. He immediately published the text of this unique French MS.⁷, which in 1906 was reproduced in facsimile by the late Mr. James Phinney Baxter of Portland, Maine⁸. This is the text here given: but by comparing it word for word with Ramusio's Italian text of 1556, which he had procured from friends in Paris⁹, it has been possible to add not only several

¹ *Bref récit et succincte narration de la navigation faite en MDXXXV et MDXXXVI par le Capitaine Jacques Cartier aux îles de Canada, Hochelaga, Saguenay et autres.* Réimpression figurée de l'édition originale rarissime de MDXLV avec les variantes des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Impériale, précédée d'une brève et succincte introduction historique par M. d'Avezac. Paris, Librairie Tross, 1863, in 8°.

² MSS. Français 5589 (B), 5644 (C) and 5653 (A).

³ Collection Moreau, 841, ff. 52-68. *Vid.* H. Omont, *Inventaire des MSS.* Moreau, 59, Paris, 1891.

⁴ G. B. Ramusio, *Terzo volume delle navigationi et viaggi nel quale si contengono Le Navigationi al Mondo Nuouo etc.*, ff. 435-440 Venetia, MDLVI.

⁵ *Discours du voyage fait par le Capitaine Jaques Cartier aux Terres-neufues de Canadas, Noremborgue, Hochelage, Labrador, & pays adiacens, dite nouvelle France, avec particulières mœurs, langage & ceremonies des habitans d'icelle.* A Roven, MDXCVIII.

⁶ H. Michelant et A. Ramé, *Voyage de Jaques Cartier au Canada en 1534. Nouvelle édition, publiée d'après l'édition de 1598 et d'après Ramusio, etc.* Paris, Librairie Tross, 1865, in 8°.

⁷ H. Michelant et A. Ramé, *Relation originale du voyage de Jacques Cartier au Canada en 1534, etc.* Paris, Librairie Tross, 1867, in 8°.

⁸ James Phinney Baxter, *A Memoir of Jacques Cartier, Sieur de Limoilou*, etc. New York and London, 1906, pp. 261-296.

⁹ Ramusio, *op. cit.* III, 5^v: "tutti gli huomini litterati ogni giorno la fanno partecipe di qualche discoprimento, che è loro portato da capitano o piloto, che venga di quelle parti . . . Il simile fanno alcuni Eccelenti huomini Francesi, che da Parigi le hanno mandato le relationi della Nuoua Francia, con quattro disegni insieme." etc.

words, but two important phrases, all of which are wanting in the French MS. These additional words and phrases taken from the Italian are here printed between square brackets thus, [].

The text of the second voyage now given is also more complete than any that has hitherto been published. The editor of the Quebec edition of 1843 reprinted MS. No. 5653 in the Bibliothèque Nationale, at Paris, called A¹, which M. d'Avezac also considered to be the original². An examination of the sources used by Marc Lescarbot for his *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, made by the editor in 1899, disclosed the fact that not this MS. but No. 5589 called B, was the original³. Taking as a basis this MS. B, the text of which M. Ternaux-Compans printed in 1841⁴, I have added in square brackets any words and phrases given in the excessively rare text published at Paris in 1545 as mentioned above. Words found only in MS. No. 5653, called A, I have printed in square brackets with a star to the left *[], while words which occur only in MS. No. 5644, called C, are given in square brackets with a star to the right []*. The result is of course a composite text, made up from these various sources, but more complete than any hitherto published.

Cartier's third voyage of 1541-1542 as well as that of Roberval in 1542 are reprinted in English in the only form in which they have come down to us. They were first published in 1600 by Richard Hakluyt in the third volume of his *Principall Navigations*⁵. Hakluyt who, in 1580 had induced John Florio to

¹ *Voyages de découverte au Canada*, avertissement pp. iii-iv : " Il existe à la bibliothèque royale de Paris trois exemplaires manuscrits . . . dont l'un paraît dater du milieu du 16^e siècle : on croit que celui-ci est l'original même de Quartier. La Société s'en était procuré une copie . . . : c'est cette copie dont elle offre au pays la réimpression."

² *Bref récit* etc. p. 49^b " celui des trois mss. qui nous paraît réunir divers caractères d'antériorité à l'égard des deux autres, porte le N^o 5653. Nous le désignerons spécialement désormais par la lettre A."

³ Biggar *Early Trading Companies of New France*, 213 et seq. Toronto, 1901.

⁴ H. Ternaux-Compans, *Archives des Voyages*, II, p. 5, note I : " Nous la donnons aujourd'hui d'après les manuscrits 10025 et 10265.3 de la bibliothèque royale." This was also the text used by Baxter for his translation: Cf. *A Memoir of Jacques Cartier* p. 4: " Finding the "Bref Récit" so inadequate for my purpose, I thought best to translate one of the three manuscripts, and selected that numbered 5589, which in some respects I prefer to either of the others, and this I have translated and present to the readers in this volume."

⁵ *Principall Navigations*, III. 232-236 and 240-242.

translate into English Ramusio's Italian, text of the first and second voyages¹, was in 1583 appointed chaplain to the British ambassador in Paris², and it is possible that he then procured the French originals from which these translations must have been made. No trace of these originals however has yet been found either in France or in England.

In appendix I, I have re-printed an account of an English expedition to Newfoundland in 1536 also preserved by Hakluyt³ and in appendix II that portion of the text of the MS. of Jean Alphonse's *Cosmographie*, preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, which relates to Canada⁴. Appendices III and IV contain short notes from Hakluyt and from an old French MS. bearing upon Cartier's first voyage, while in appendix V have been reprinted extracts from the late Sir Daniel Wilson's paper on *The Huron-Iroquois of Canada* read before the Royal Society of Canada in 1884⁵. In appendix VI will be found a letter written at St. Malo in June 1587 concerning Cartier's "booke" now lost, and in appendix VII an interesting note on "Magnetic Variation in Cartier's Time," which has been most kindly contributed by Professor W. F. Ganong of Smith College, Northampton, Mass.

Cartier's Relations must originally have taken the form of an ordinary day by day ship's log. On his return to St. Malo, these *journaux de bord* would be worked up into the present Relations. Traces of this process can still be seen. For example on entering the Strait of Belle Isle, the First Relation reads: "One doubles two islands, one of which is three leagues from Cape Dégrat and the other seven leagues from the first." In reality there are three islands, the two Sacred islands, and seven leagues farther, a third island, now called Schooner island. Similarly although it was the Vice-Admiral of Brittany who took the oaths, and Cartier who set sail, the first chapter-heading in Ramusio reads: "How Sir Charles de Mouy, Knight, set out with two

¹ *Divers Voyages*, 17: "And the last yeere at my charges and other of my friendes, by my exhortation, I caused Jaques Cartiers two voyages of discovering the Grand Bay, and Canada, Saguenay and Hochelaga, to be translated out of my Volumes," etc.

² *Dictionary of National Biography*, VIII, 895.

³ *Principall Navigations*, 1589, 577-579.

⁴ Appendix II, pp. 278-303.

⁵ *Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada for the year 1884*, II. Sect. ii, 55-106. Montreal, 1885.

ships from St. Malo," etc. Again in the description of the coast northward from Miramichi bay, something has been omitted; for in its present form the Relation is incomplete¹. The Third Relation is even more unsatisfactory than the first and second, and the account of Roberval's voyage also leaves much to be desired.

Taking as his authority Cartier's Third Relation, Mr. Aristide Beaugrand-Champagne in a paper entitled *Le Chemin d'Hochelaga* which he read before the Royal Society of Canada in May last, endeavoured to show that Cartier had reached Hochelaga in 1535, not as has hitherto been supposed by way of the St. Lawrence, but by the Rivière des Prairies. As this explanation seemed to remove some of the difficulties presented by Cartier's Relations, I was at first inclined to agree with Mr. Beaugrand-Champagne, who moreover himself kindly conducted me over the eastern half of the island of Montreal. On comparing his paper however with the Second Relation, wherein Cartier's visit to Hochelaga is related in detail, one finds that the two are irreconcilable. According to the Second Relation, Cartier can have approached Hochelaga only by way of the St. Lawrence. While it is possible that many of the identifications in the notes to this edition may in time prove incorrect, so far as one can see those proposed by Mr. Beaugrand-Champagne for Cartier's arrival at Hochelaga, by no means dispose of the difficulties presented by our incomplete record of this event. While I am unable to agree with Mr. Beaugrand-Champagne on this question, I am under great obligation to him for the trouble he has been good enough to take to explain his theory to me on the spot, and as he hopes to publish further papers relating to Hochelaga, we may yet reach an agreement.

The illustrations, the sources of which are in every case indicated in the List on page vii, are intended to show the advance in geographical knowledge brought about by Cartier's explorations. Plate I (p. 1) gives the outline of these regions as depicted by the best European cartographers at the time when Cartier set sail. Plate V (p. 64) shows the results of Cartier's first voyage, while in Plates VIII (p. 128), X (p. 160) and XII (p. 192) will be seen the results of those of 1535 and 1541.² These maps are reproduced with the north at the top, notwithstanding that thereby the lettering becomes reversed.

¹ *Vide* p. 45 note 9.

² *Vid.* C. H. Coote, *Autotype Facsimiles of Three Mappemondes*, 1898.

In conclusion I wish to acknowledge with gratitude the help of those who have assisted me in the publication of this work. To Dr. A. G. Doughty, C.M.G., the Keeper of the Records, my best thanks are due for his kindness in allowing me to reproduce the coloured frontispiece which is in his possession. Professor W. F. Ganong, of Smith College, has not only contributed the valuable appendix VII on "Magnetic Variation in Cartier's time," but was good enough to revise my whole MS. Mr. Edmond Buron of our Paris staff kindly compared the proofs afresh with *Manuscrit français 5589* in the *Bibliothèque Nationale*, while in the spelling of the modern geographical names I have been helped by Mr. H. R. Holmden, the head of our map Department. Mr. Gustave Lanctot, the Chief French Archivist, has assisted me on several points, and much information regarding Indian languages and customs has been generously supplied by Messrs. Marius Barbeau, W. J. Wintemberg and F. W. Waugh of the Department of the Interior. It has not been possible unfortunately to make use of all the material furnished by these experts. Miss H. M. Russell has been good enough to read the proofs and Mr. A. R. M. Lower of the Board of Historical Publications to make the index. Finally the staff of the Printing Bureau deserve every credit for the care with which they have produced this volume.

H. P. BIGGAR.

Ottawa,

September 24, 1923.

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Ribero's Map of North America and Greenland, 1529.

CARTIER'S FIRST VOYAGE
1534

EXPLANATION OF THE BRACKETS IN THE
FRENCH TEXT.

The French text here given is that in Collection Moreau, volume 841, folios 52-68 in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. The chapter-headings and other words and phrases in square brackets have been supplied from the Italian translation published by Ramusio at Venice in 1556 in the third volume of his *Navigazioni et Viaggi*, ff. 435-440. This was translated back into French at Rouen in 1598.

Letters and words in round brackets should be omitted.

[PREMIÈRE RELATION DE JACQUES CARTIER DE LA
TERRE NEUFVE,¹ DITE LA NOUVELLE FRANCE,
TROUVÉE EN L'AN 1534.^a

COMMENT LE CAPITAIN JACQUES CARTIER, ESTANT
PARTI AVEC DEUX NAVIRES DE SAINT MALO, ARRIVA
À LA TERRE NEUFVE, DITE LA FRANCISCANE,^b ET
ENTRA DANS LE HABLE DE SAINTE KATHERINE.^c]

Après que missire Charles de Mouy, Chevallier, seigneur fol. 52^r
de La Milleraye, et vis-admiral de France², eut prins les sermens,
et faict jurez les cappitaine^d, maistres et conpaignons desditz

^a Such is the title given in Ramusio where the Italian reads: *Prima Relatione di Jacques Cartier della Terra Nuova detta la nuova Francia, trovata nell' anno, M.D. XXXIII*. The MS. bears the simple heading, *Le voiage de Jacques Cartier*. Cf. Michelant et Ramé, *Voyage de Jacques Cartier*, p. 17. Paris, 1865.

^b *La Francese* in Ramusio but Jean Alfonse (Appendix II p. 278 *infra*) gives the above. Cf. also his maps (reproduced in Harrisse, *Découverte et évolution*

^c The Italian translation of Ramusio, whence the chapter-headings have all been taken, reads here: *Come messer Carlo da Mouy Cavallier, partito con due Navi da San Malò, giunse alla terra nuova, detta la Francese, & entrò nel porto di buona vista*. Cf. Introd. p. xii. ^dRamusio has, *li Capitani*.

JACQUES CARTIER'S FIRST ACCOUNT OF THE NEW
LAND,¹ CALLED NEW FRANCE, DISCOVERED IN
THE YEAR 1534.

HOW CAPTAIN JACQUES CARTIER, HAVING SET FORTH
FROM ST. MALO WITH TWO SHIPS, CAME TO THE NEW
LAND, CALLED FRANCIS' LAND, AND ENTERED ST.
CATHERINE'S HARBOUR.

When Sir Charles de Mouy, Knight, Lord of La Meilleraye
and Vice-Admiral of France², had received the oaths of the captains,
masters and sailors of the vessels, and had made them swear to

¹ Cf. Lescarbot, *op. cit.*, 1609, p. 248: "Et quoy que tout païs de nouveau decouvert se puisse appeller Terre-neuve, toutefois ce mot est particulier aux terres . . . lesquelles sont par les quarante-sept, quarante-huit, quarante-neuf, & cinquante degrez en tirant au Nort. Et par un mot plus general on peut

² Charles de Mouy, Seigneur de La Meilleraye was the fourth son of Jacques, Baron de Mouy and Jacqueline d'Estouteville. He had been appointed Vice-Admiral on February 26, 1530 and died in 1562. *Vid.* Ch. de La Roncière, *Histoire de la marine française*, II, p. 447, note I, Paris, 1900.

navires, de bien et loyaulment soy porter au service du Roy³, soubz la charge dudit Cartier, partimes du havre et port de Saint Malo, avecques lesdits deux navires, du port d'environ soixante tonneaulx chaincun, esquippez, les deux^e, de soixante vng homme, 52^v le vigntiesme jour d'apvril oudit an, mil cinq cens trante | quatre. Et avecques bon temps navigans, et vinmes à Terre Neuffve, le dixiesme jour de may, et aterrames à cap de Bonne Viste⁴, estant

cartographique de Terre-Neuve p. 159, Paris, 1900, and also in G. Musset's edition of *La Cosmographie*, Paris, 1904, pp. 490, 507 and 510), and the Sloane MS. 117, art. I, fol. 4 in the British Museum. The Paris Gilt globe (Harrisse, *Discovery of North America*, p. 563, plate XXI, London 1892), the Maggiolo map of 1527 (*ibid.*, p. 216 plate X) and the Paris Wooden globe (*ibid.* p. 613, plate XXII) give *Terra Francesca* while on Mercator's first map (Harrisse, *op. cit.*, p. 607, No. 216), Munster's 1537 map (*Découverte*, etc. p. 103 No. 35 and also p. 104) and on map No. 45 (Nova Tabula

^e Ramusio has, *ciascuna*.

conduct themselves well and loyally in the King's³ service, under the command of the said Cartier, we set forth from the harbour and port of St. Malo with two ships of about sixty tons' burden each, manned in all with sixty-one men, on [Monday] April 20 in the said year 1534; and sailing on with fair weather we reached Newfoundland on [Sunday] May 10, sighting land at cape Bonavista⁴

appeller Terre-Neuve tout ce qui environne le Golfe de saint Laurent où les Terre-neuviens indifferemment vont tous les ans faire leur pecherie"; and also Ribaut's *True and Last Discoverie* in Hakluyt's *Divers Voyages*, p. 93: "the North parts, commonly called the new land."

³ Francis I.

⁴ It is still called cape Bonavista and lies in latitude 48° 42' 27". The name is given on the Viegas, Riccardiana, Desliens, Vallard and Mercator maps and on the Desceliers planisphere. *Vid.* Harrisse *op. cit.*, planches VI and XI; plates X and XIV, pp. 160 and 224 *infra*; and J. G. Kohl, *History of the Discovery of Maine*, Nos. XVIII^a and XXII, Portland, 1869. Cf. Le vice-amiral G. Cloué, *Pilote de Terre-Neuve*, 2^{ème} edit., tom. II, (Paris, 1882), p. 213: "Le cap Bonavista [*anglicè* Fair View] est situé par . . . 55° 25' 34" de longitude Ouest [de Paris]: c'est une presqu'île de roches arides de moyenne hauteur, bordée de falaises escarpées et très accores."

en quarente huyt degrez et demy de latitude, et en . . . ⁵ degrez de longitude. Et pour le grant nombre de glasses qui estoient le long d'icelle terre⁶, nous convint entrer en vng havre, nonmé sainte Katherine⁷, estant au su surouaist d'iceluy cap environ cinq lieues⁸, où fumes l'espace dix jours, attendant nostre temps, et acoustrant noz barques.

XVI) of the Basle Ptolemies of 1540, 1542 and 1545, it is spelt *Francisca*. The name was evidently given by Verrazano to the east coast of North America in honour of Francis I, who sent him out. Cf. Crignon's *Discorso d'un Gran Capitano di mare Francese* in Ramusio, *op. cit.*, III, fol. 423^v: "Seguendo oltra al Capo de Brettoni vi è una terra contigua col detto capo, . . . laqual costa fu scoperta 15. anni fa, per messer Giovanni da Verrazzano in nome del Re Francesco . . . & questa terra da molti è detta la Francese," etc. At the close of the century the name was again lost; for the Rouen translator gives *la Françoisie*. Cf. also Thevet, *Cosmographie universelle*, fol. 1009^v, Paris, 1575.

in latitude 48° 30' and in . . . ⁵ degrees of longitude. And on account of the large number of blocks of ice along that coast⁶, we deemed it advisable to go into a harbour called St. Catherine's harbour⁷, lying about five leagues⁸ south-south-west of this cape [Bonavista], where we remained the space of ten days, [May 11 to 21], biding favourable weather and rigging and fitting up our long-boats.

⁵ There is a blank here in the MS. and in Ramusio. In those days there were no accurate means of measuring the longitude.

⁶ Cf. Staff Commander W. F. Maxwell, R.N., *The Newfoundland and Labrador Pilot*, 3rd edition, (London, 1897), p. 350: "Field ice appears [in Bonavista bay] about 15th February and disappears towards the end of May"; and also p. 377: "Northern ice is irregular in its arrival seldom appearing before 15th January . . . It generally leaves between 10th and 20th April but has been known to remain as late as 10th June."

⁷ Now called by the Spanish form Catalina harbour. It lies about ten miles south of cape Bonavista. The name is given on the Harleian map-pemonde, plate VIII, p. 128 *infra*.

⁸ Cf. S. E. Dawson, *The St. Lawrence Basin* (London, 1905), 123: "If then we would measure Cartier's courses on an Admiralty chart, we must allow only two and a half nautical miles for each league; for that is the equivalent value to a small fraction."

[COMMENT ILZ ARRIVÈRENT À L'ISLE DES OUAI-
SEAUXX, ET DU GRAND NOMBRE D'OUAISEAUX
QUI S'Y TROUVENT^a.]

Et le XXI^e jour dudit moys de may, partismes dudit hable, avecques vng vent de ouaist, et fumes portez au nort, vng quart de nordeist de cap de Bonne Viste, jucques à l'isle des Ouaiseaulx¹, la quelle isle estoit toute avironnée et circuitte d'un bancq de glasses, rompues et departies par pièces^b. Nonobstant ledit banc, noz deux barques furent à ladite isle, pour avoir des ouaiseaulx, desqueulx y a si grant nombre, que c'est vne chose increable, qui ne le voyt²; car nonobstant que ladite isle contienne environ vne lieue de circunferance³, en soit si tres-plaine, qu'i semble que

^a The Italian reads: *Come arrivaronno all'Isola de gl'Uccelli, & della gran copia d'uccelli che ivi si trova.*

^b Belleforest in his *Cosmographie universelle de tout le monde* (Paris, 1575) has added here (tome II, col. 2179): "comme quand l'a riviere de Seine charrie".

HOW THEY ARRIVED AT THE ISLE OF BIRDS AND OF THE LARGE NUMBER OF BIRDS FOUND THERE.

And on [Thursday] the twenty-first of the said month of May we set forth from this [Catalina] harbour with a west wind, and sailed north, one quarter north-east of cape Bonavista as far as the isle of Birds¹, which island was completely surrounded and encompassed by a cordon of loose ice, split up into cakes. In spite of this belt [of ice] our two long-boats were sent off to the island to procure some of the birds, whose numbers are so great as to be incredible, unless one has seen them²; for although the island is about a league in circumference³, it is so exceeding full

¹ Now Funk island, in latitude 49° 45' 29". Cf. Maxwell, *op. cit.*, 338: "Funk island . . . is 46 feet high and nearly flat with scanty vegetation, peaty soil, on the highest part. Landing may be affected in calm weather at Gannet head on the south-west coast, and on the north side of Indian gulch."

² Cf. G. Cartwright, *A Journal of Transactions and Events, etc.*, (Newark, 1792), III, 55: "Innumerable flocks of sea-fowl breed upon it [Funk island] every summer, which are of great service to the poor inhabitants of Fogo; . . . When the water is smooth, they make their shallop fast to the shore, lay their gang-boards from the gunwale of the boat to the rocks, and then drive as many penguins [great auks] on board, as she will hold; for, the wings of those birds being remarkably short, they cannot fly . . . The birds which the people bring from thence, they salt and eat, in lieu of salted pork."

on les ayt arimez. Il y en a cent [fois^e] plus à l'environ d'icelle, et en l'oir, que dedans l'isle⁴; dont partie d'iceulx ouaiseaulx sont grans comme ouays, noirs et blancs, et ont le bec comme vng corbin. Et sont tousiours en la mer, sans jamais povair voller en l'air, pource qu'ilz ont petites aesles, comme la moitié d'une [main^d]; | de quoy ilz vollent aussi fort dedans la mer, comme les aultres 53^r ouaiseaulx font en l'air. Et sont iceulx ouaiseaux si gras, que c'est vne chose merveilleuse. Nous nonmons iceulx ouaiseaulx, *Appponatz*^{e5}, desqueulz noz deux barques en chargèrent, en moins de demye heure, comme de pierres, dont chaincun de noz navires en sallèrent quatre ou cinq pippes, sans ce que nous en peumes mangier de froys⁶.

^e This word is omitted in the MS. but Ramusio has: *cento volte piu.*

^d This word is also omitted in the MS. but Ramusio has: *la meta della mano.* Being the last word on the page it was overlooked by the copyist.

^e Ramusio has here, *Apporath* but elsewhere as in the text. Jean Alfonse (Appendix II, p. 280) calls the island *l'islet des Aponas.* Cf. p. 32 *infra*, note 10.

of birds that one would think they had been stowed there. In the air and round about are an hundred times as many more as on the island itself⁴. Some of these birds are as large as geese, being black and white with a beak like a crow's. They are always in the water, not being able to fly in the air, inasmuch as they have only small wings about the size of half one's hand, with which however they move as quickly along the water as the other birds fly through the air. And these birds are so fat that it is marvelous. We call them apponats⁵; and our two long-boats were laden with them as with stones, in less than half an hour. Of these, each of our ships salted four or five casks, not counting those we were able to eat fresh⁶.

³ Cf. Maxwell, *op. cit.*, 1st edition (London, 1878), 198: "Funk island . . . is 800 yards long, east and west, by 400 yards wide."

⁴ Cf. Cloué, *op. cit.*, II, 165: "Il [Funk island] se fait ordinairement remarquer par le grand nombre d'oiseaux de mer qui volent au-dessus de lui."

⁵ The great auk (*Plautus impennis* (Linn.) Steenstr.) extinct since 1844. Cf. F. A. Lucas, *The Expedition to Funk Island, with Observations upon the History and Anatomy of the Great Auk in Report of the U.S. National Museum under the direction of the Smithsonian Institution, for 1888*, 493-530. Washington, 1890: Dawson, *op. cit.*, 148-150; and see plate II, p. 16.

⁶ Cf. Anthony Parkhurst in Hakluyt, *op. cit.*, III, 133: "The Frenchmen that fish neere the grand baie [the strait of Belle Isle] doe bring small store of flesh with them, but victuall themselves alwayes with these birdes": and *ibid.*, p. 149.

[DE DEUX SORTES D'OUAISEAULX, L'VNE APPELLÉE
~~GODEZ~~, L'AULTRE MARGAULX; ET COMMENT ILZ
 ARRIVÈRENT À KARPONT^a.]

Davantaige, y a vne aultre sorte d'ouaiseaulx, qui vont en l'air et en la mer, qui sont plus petiz, que l'on nomme *godez*^{b1}, qui se ariment et meptent à ladite isle soubz les plus grans. Il y en avoit d'aultre plus-grans, qui sont blans, qui se mettent à part des aultres, en vne partie de l'isle, qui sont fort mauvais à assallir; car ilz mordent comme chiens; et sont nommez *margaulx*². Et neantmoins que ladite isle soyt à quatorse lieues³ de

^a The Italian reads: *Di due specie di uccelli, l'una chiamata Godetz. l'altra Margaulx. & come arrivarono à Carpunt.*

^b Ramusio has always, *godetz*.

OF TWO KINDS OF BIRDS, THE ONE CALLED TINKERS
 AND THE OTHER GANNETS; AND HOW THEY [THE
 EXPLORERS] ARRIVED AT KARPONT.

Furthermore there is another smaller kind of bird that flies in the air and swims in the sea, which is called a tinker¹. These stow and place themselves on this island underneath the larger ones. There were other white ones larger still that keep apart from the rest in a portion of the island, and are very ugly to attack; for they bite like dogs. These are called gannets². Notwithstanding that the island lies fourteen leagues from shore³, bears swim out to it from the mainland in order to feed on these birds;

¹ The razor-billed auk, *alca torda* Linn. Cf. C. E. Dionne, *Catalogue des Oiseaux de la province de Québec*, p. 9, No. 11, Quebec, 1889; and P. A. Taverner, *Birds of Eastern Canada*, 2nd ed., p. 47. Ottawa, 1922.

² *Sula bassana* (Linn) Briss. Cf. Dawson, *loc. cit.*; Dionne, *op. cit.*, p. 18, No. 34.; and Taverner, *op. cit.*, 61-62.

³ Funk island lies thirty-one miles NNE. of cape Freels on the main shore of Newfoundland but only twenty-four miles east of Offer Wadham island. Cf. p. 94 *infra* and Appendix I, p. 274.

terre, les ours y passent à no de la grant terre, pour mangier desdits ouaiseaulx; desqueulx noz gens en trouvrent vng, grant comme vne vache, aussi blanc comme vng signe, qui saulta en la mer d'avent eulx. Et le lendemain, qui est le jour de la Penthecouste⁴, en faisant nostre routte vers terre, trouvames ledit ours, environ le my chemin, qui alloit à terre aussi fort que nous faisions à la voile; et nous, l'ayant aperceu, luy baillames la chasse o noz barques, et le prinmes à force, la chair duquel estoit aussi bonne à mangier comme d'une genise de deux ans⁵. |

Le mercredi, XXVII^e dudit moys, nous arivames à l'entrée ^{53v} de la baye des Chasteaulx⁶; et pour la contrarieté du temps^c et du grant nombre de glaces^d que trouvames⁷, nous convint entrer

^c The copyist first wrote, *vent* and then altered it to, *temps*, which is also the reading in Ramusio: *per la contrarietà del tempo*.

^d Ramusio has: *la moltitudine di ghiacci grandi*.

and our men found one as big as a calf and as white as a swan that sprang into the sea in front of them. And the next day, which was Whitsuntide⁴, on continuing our voyage in the direction of the mainland, we caught sight of this bear about half way, swimming towards land as fast as we were sailing; and on coming up with him we gave chase with our long-boats and captured him by main force. His flesh was as good to eat as that of a two-year-old heifer⁵.

On Wednesday the twenty-seventh of the month [of May] we reached the mouth of the bay of Castles⁶, but on account of the unfavourable weather and of the large number of icebergs

⁴ Sunday, May 24 in 1534.

⁵ Cf. Anthony Parkhurst in Hakluyt, *op. cit.*, III, 133: "And plentie of Beares every where [in Newfoundland], so that you may kill of them as oft as you list: their flesh is as good as yong beefe, and hardly you may know the one from the other if it be poudred [i.e. salted] but two dayes."

⁶ The strait of Belle Isle. Cf. Michelant et Ramé, *Voyage de Jaques Cartier* (Paris, 1865), 2^{ème} partie, p. 3: "passez le destroit de la baye des Chasteaulx". The name is given on the Harleian mappemonde, plate VIII, p. 128 *infra*; on map No. 56 of the Italian Ptolemy of 1548; on the map published in Ramusio, *op. cit.* III, fols. 424-425, as well as on the Jomard map in J. Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History*, IV, 89, Boston, s.a. Cf. also F. Kunstmann, *Die Entdeckung Amerikas*, p. 68, München, 1859; and *infra* pp. 13, 24 46 and 95.

dedans vng hable, estant aux environs d'icelle entrée, nommé le Ka[r]pont^{e8}, où nous fumes, sans en povair sortir, jucques au neuffiesme jour de juign, que en partismes, pour passer, o l'aide de Dieu, oultre. Ledit Karpont^f est en cinquante et vng degrez et demy de latitude⁹.

^e The MS. has *Kapont* (once *Rapont*) while Ramusio gives *Carpunt* and *Carpont*, which latter is also the spelling in the third Relation (p. 251 *infra*). Jean Alfonse gives, *Carpon* (Appendix II, p. 282 *infra*). I have retained the *k* of the MS.; for the harbour which is now called Grand-Kirpon, lying between Kirpon island and Newfoundland, was evidently so named from its resemblance to *Le Kerpont* which occupies an exactly similar position between the island of Bréhat and the French coast to the west of St. Malo.

^f Here the MS. has, *Rapont*.

we met with⁷, we deemed it advisable to enter a harbour in the neighbourhood of that entrance called Karpont⁸, where we remained, without being able to leave, until [Tuesday] June 9, when we set forth in order with God's help, to proceed farther on. Karpont lies in latitude 51° 30'⁹.

⁷ Cf. Rear-Admiral H. W. Bayfield, *The St. Lawrence Pilot*, vol. 1, 6th edition (London, 1894), p. 8: "The strait of Belle-isle is usually open for navigation from the middle of June . . . but instances have occurred of its being completely blocked on 30th June;" and the table given at page 129 of the same work.

⁸ Grand-Kirpon. Cf. Maxwell, *op. cit.*, 3rd edit., 538: "Kirpon Harbour situated between Jacques Cartier and Kirpon islands, affords excellent anchorage for any vessel."

⁹ Grand-Kirpon lies in lat. 51° 36'.

[DESCRIPTION DE LA TERRE NEUFVE DEMPUIS
CAP ROUGE JUSQUES À CELUY DE DÉGRAT^a.]

La terre, dempuis cap Rouge jusques au Dégrat¹, [qui^b] est la pointe de l'entrée de la baye², gist, de cap en cap, nort nordeist et su surouaist; et est toute ceste partie de terre à isles adiaczantes, et près les vnes des aultres, qu'il n'y a que petites ripvières, par où bateaux pevent aller et passer parmy³. Et à celle cause, y a plusieurs bons hables, dont ledit hable du Karpont⁴, et celuy du Dégrat⁵, sont en l'vne d'icelles isles, icelle qui est la plus haulte de toutes⁶, du dessurs de laquelle l'on voyt claiement les deux

^a The Italian reads: *Descrittione della terra nuova dopo Capo rosso, fino à quel di Degrad*. This is the only place where the MS. has a chapter-heading which differs considerably from that in Ramusio. The MS. has: *Description de la terre dempuis cap Rouge jucques au hable de Brest estant en la baye*. See Baxter, *op. cit.* 266. This would cover the next two chapters as well. Doubtless the

^b This word is omitted in the MS. Ramusio has: *che è la punta*, etc.

DESCRIPTION OF NEWFOUNDLAND FROM CAPE
ROUGE TO CAPE DÉGRAT

The coast from cape Rouge to cape Dégrat¹, which is the point at the entrance to the bay², runs from cape to cape north-north-east and south-south-west, and all this part of the coast has islands off it and near to one another, so that there are nothing but narrow channels where ships' boats may go and pass among them³. And on this account there are several good harbours of which the said Karpont harbour⁴ and the harbour of Dégrat⁵

¹ These capes still bear the same names: cape Rouge is on the north-east coast of Newfoundland opposite Groais island in latitude 50° 36', while cape Dégrat is on Kirpon island, a few miles to the south of cape Bauld, which forms the entrance to the strait of Belle Isle. Cape Dégrat is much higher than cape Bauld and coming from the south, forms a much better landmark. The Vallard map and the Desceliers planisphere have an *ille Dégrat* while the Mercator map has *C. di Degrad*. Martin de Hoyarsabal, *Les Voyages aventureux* (Bordeaux, 1633) p. 108 gives a description of this same coast.

² *Des Châteaux*, i.e. the strait of Belle Isle. Cf. p. 9, note 6, and *infra* page 95.

³ This is by no means an accurate description of this coast.

⁴ Now Grand-Kirpon or Jacques-Cartier harbour.

⁵ It is still called *l'anse du Dégrat* and lies behind cape Dégrat on the north side.

Belles Isles, qui sont près cap Rouge⁷, où l'on compte vingt-cinq lieues⁸ audit hable de Karpont. Y a deux entrées^c, l'une vers l'eist, et l'autre vers le su de l'isle; mais il se fault donner garde de la bande et pointe de l'eist⁹, car se sont bastures, et pays somme; 54^r et fault renger l'isle¹⁰ de l'ouaist, à la longueur de | demy cable, ou plus près qu'il veult, et puis s'en aller surs le su, vers le Kar-

division of the whole Relation into chapters was more or less arbitrary and the Moreau copy may possibly have been taken from a text divided into fewer chapters than that used by Ramusio. For *dégrad*, *vid.* Ganong's Denys, *Description géographique et historique*, etc., p. 325 note i, Champlain Society, Toronto, 1908.

^c This seems the better punctuation. Ramusio has: *presso Caporasso, di dove contano venticinque leghe fino al detto porto di Carpont, & vi sono due entrate*, etc.

are in one of these islands, that which is the highest of all⁶, from the top of which one can see clearly the two Belle Isles that are near cape Rouge⁷, whence to the harbour of Karpont the distance is twenty-five leagues⁸. There are two entrances [to Grand-Kirpon], one to the east and the other to the south of the island. But one must beware of the eastern⁹ [i.e. western] shore and point; for there are bars and shallow water; and one must range the island¹⁰ from the west at the distance of half a cable or closer if one wishes, and then head off to the south towards Karpont¹¹. And one must also beware of three shoals that lie under the water in the channel close to the island [of Jacques Cartier] on

⁶ Kirpon island. Cf. Maxwell, *op. cit.*, 537-538: "Kirpon Island . . . is high and bold, the summit over cape Dégrad being 505 feet high."

⁷ The Gray islands i.e. Groais (or Groix) island and Belle Isle south (or *Belle Ile du Petit-Nord*) which lie just off cape Rouge between 50° 45' and 50° 56' N. Ramusio has, *le due Isole basse*. Cape Rouge lies in 50° 56'.

⁸ Jean Alfonse gives, *douze lieues*. (Appendix II p. 281). Doubtless he only counted to Petit-Kirpon while Cartier gives the distance to Grand-Kirpon.

⁹ Pointe Duménil on the west side of Kirpon island. The variation of the compass, which then attained some 14° W., may have led Cartier to think Kirpon island ran north-east and south-west. *Vid.* Appendix VII p. 315.

¹⁰ Jacques-Cartier island at the mouth of Grand-Kirpon or Jacques-Cartier harbour.

¹¹ The modern directions are almost word for word the same. Cf. Cloué, *op. cit.*, II, 30: "On range ensuite la pointe de Jacques-Cartier [island] à une cinquantaine de mètres et même beaucoup plus près, si on le veut . . . et l'on vient sur tribord pour mouiller sur la rade de Jacques-Cartier [or Grand-Kirpon]." and Bishop Howley's paper in *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada* 1st ser. XII, ii, 155, 1895.

pont¹¹. Et [aussi^d] se fault donner garde de trois basses, qui sont soubz l'eau ou chenal devers l'isle de l'est. Il y a de fontz, par le chenal, troys ou quatre brasses,¹² et beau fons. L'autre entrée gist est nordest et su, vers l'ouaist, à saultez à terre¹³.

[DE L'ISLE DE SAINCTE KATHERINE, À PRESENT
AINSI NOMMÉE^a.]

Partant de la ppointe du Dégrat, et entrant en ladite baye¹, faisant l'ouaist, vng quart du norouaist, l'on double deux isles²,

^d This word is omitted in the MS. Ramusio has, *et ancho*, etc.

^a The Italian reads: *Dell'Isola di Santa Catherina hora cosi chiamata*.

the east side. There is a depth of three or four fathoms¹² through the channel and good bottom [in Jacques-Cartier harbour]. The other entrance [to Grand-Kirpon] lies east-north-east and south with a little westing and the passage is a narrow one¹³.

OF THE ISLAND NOW CALLED ST. CATHERINE'S ISLAND

Leaving point Dégrat and entering the said bay¹, heading west, one quarter north-west, one doubles two islands² which are left to port, one of which is three leagues from the said point

¹² Although the French fathom is rather more than eight inches shorter than ours (1^m 62°), for the sake of convenience they are here treated as equivalent.

¹³ Cf. Cloué, *op. cit.*, II, 41-42: "Entre la pointe de la Baleine et la pointe aux Perdrix, située à 400 mètres dans le S.E. se trouve l'entrée Est du Petit-Kirpon. Cette entrée va en se rétrécissant jusqu'à près de ½ mille de là, vis-à-vis de la pointe Herbert . . . Le Petit-Kirpon s'élargit en dedans de la pointe Herbert jusqu'à avoir environ 250 mètres de large par le travers de la pointe Sud de l'île de Kirpon . . . Les navires de moins de 4 mètres de tirant d'eau, qui vont de la côte de l'Est au mouillage de Jacques-Cartier, ont avantage, si le vent est portant, à passer par le Petit-Kirpon, puis par le chenal au Sud de l'île de Kirpon"; and also Hoyarsabal, *op. cit.*, 108: "il y a deux entrées l'une gist nord noroest & sud suest, & l'autre nordest & suroest; car il y a une bache au milieu de l'entrée. garde toy d'elle & range toy devers ce bort ou a babour . . . à l'autre entrée du cap de Grat . . . il y une bache plate depuis que tu es entré dedans devers suroest, à l'entrât va tout droit à la grande Isle dedans le port mesme, & range toy à la petite Isle qui est devers stibour."

¹ *Des Châteaux* or the strait of Belle Isle. *Vid.* p. 9, note 6.

² The *isles du Sacre* or Big and Little Sacred islands which are five miles from cape Bauld and lie one mile apart.

qui demeurent de babort, dont l'vne est à trois lieues de ladite pointe, et l'autre³ environ sept lieues de la première, qui est platte et basse terre, apparoissante estre de la grant terre⁴. Je nommé icelle, *isle sainte Katherine*⁵; au nordest de la quelle, y a hesiers et mauvais fons, environ vng quart de lieue⁶, par quoy luy fault donner run. Ladite isle e(s)t^b le hable des Chasteaux⁷ gissent nort nordest et su-surouaist, et y a entreulx quinze lieues. Et dudit hable des Chasteaulx au hable des Buttes⁸, qui est la terre du nort de ladite baye⁹, gisante est nordest et ouaist surouaist, y a entreulx doze lieues et demye. Et à deux lieux dudit hable des

^b Ramusio has *è*, which the sense also clearly demands.

[Dégrat] and the other³ about seven leagues from the [two] first, which [Schooner] island is flat and low, and looks as if it formed part of the main shore [of Newfoundland]⁴. I named this island, St. Catherine's island⁵; to the north-east of which are shoals and bad ground for about a quarter of a league⁶, for which reason one must give it a wide berth. The said [Schooner] island and Chateau harbour⁷ lie north-north-east and

³ A mistake of the redactor. It should be "a third island", *Ile à la Goélette* or Schooner island, at the mouth of Pistolet bay near point Cook. Cf. Introduction p. xii.

⁴ Newfoundland itself. Schooner island is only separated from the main shore by Cook's harbour.

⁵ Now Schooner island. The festival of St. Catherine of Sienna had fallen on April 30, when they were still at sea. The island was possibly so named in honour of Cartier's wife Catherine des Granches. The Mercator map identifies it by mistake with Belle Isle North. *Vid.* plate XV, p. 240.

⁶ *Ile Verte* or Green island and the shoals about it.

⁷ Still called *baie du Château* or Chateau bay on the coast of Labrador in 51° 58' opposite Belle Isle North. The name appears on the Desliens and Vallard maps, on the Desceliers mappemonde and planisphere and on the Mercator map. (Harrisse, *op. cit.*, planche XI; plates VIII, X and XIV, *infra*; and Kohl, *op. cit.*, No. XXII). It "is so called from the remarkable resemblance which it bears to an ancient castle. Its turrets, arches, loopholes, and keeps are beautifully represented by a series of basaltic columns." Lieut. Ed. Chappell, R.N., *Voyage of His Majesty's Ship Rosamond to Newfoundland and the Southern Coast of Labrador*, p. 161, London, 1818. This harbour and Belle Isle opposite were the places Parkhurst wished to see fortified: "There is neere about the mouth of the grand Bay an excellent harbour called of the Frenchmen Chasteaux, and one Island in the very entrie of the streight called Belle Isle, which places if they be peopled and well fortified . . . wee shall be lordes of the whole fishing in small time," in Hakluyt, *op. cit.*, III, 134. The compass variation accounts for the directions in the text.

Buttes, est le hable de la Balaine¹⁰; le travers duquel hable, sçavoir, à tierce partie de la traversée de ladite baye⁹, y a trante huyt brasses, et font de taygnay. Dudit hable de la Ballaine^c jucques à Blanc Sablon¹¹, y a [vingt-cinq^d] lieues, | audit ouaist^{54v} surouaist; et se fault donner garde d'une basse, qui est sur l'eau, comme vng bateau, au suest dudit Blanc Sablon, trois lieues hors¹².

^c Ramusio has, *delle ballanze*, while the sentence before reads: & *a due leghe dal porto delle ballanze, cioè nella terza parte del traverso*, which completely alters the sense.

^d From Ramusio who has, *leghe venti cinque*. There is a blank here in the MS. The distance is much overestimated and indeed Jean Alfonso (p. 283) only counts thirty leagues from Belle Isle to Blanc Sablon.

south-south-west, and are fifteen leagues apart. And from Chateau harbour to the harbour of Hillocks⁸, which is on the north shore of the said bay⁹ running east-north-east and west-south-west, there are twelve and a half leagues. Two leagues from the said harbour of Hillocks is Whale harbour¹⁰, abreast of which harbour, namely about three quarters of the way through the said bay⁹, there are thirty-eight fathoms and weedy bottom. From the said Whale harbour to Blanc Sablon¹¹ the distance is twenty-five leagues towards the west-south-west, and one must beware of a reef on the water like a ship's-boat to the south-east of Blanc Sablon, three leagues off¹².

⁸ Ramusio has, *Gutte* but Jean Alfonse the "haven of Butes" (Vid. p. 284), and this name is given on the Desceliers mappemonde, plate XII, p. 192. Hoyarsabal (*op. cit.*, 109) calls it "Boytus". It is now called Black bay and lies twenty-one and a half miles from Chateau bay.

⁹ *Des Châteaux* i.e. the strait of Belle Isle.

¹⁰ *Ballennes* in Hoyarsabal (*op. cit.*, 110) but now *Baie Rouge* or Red bay. The Desceliers mappemonde has *hā lames* which is perhaps a corruption of the name in the text. "A good though small harbour" says Bayfield, *op. cit.*, 1, 130. A detailed description will be found in W. A. Stearns, *Labrador*, 242-244, (Boston, 1884) who states: "On the west red feldspar predominates, in large cliffs, whence the name Red bay."

¹¹ Still called by the same name which appears on the Desliens map, the Harleian mappemonde, the two Desceliers maps and the Mercator map. Cf. Bishop Howley in *Transactions of the Royal Society*, 1st ser., XII, ii, 157: "The harbour takes its name from the banks of sand surrounding it . . . formed by the detritus of the Granite Mountains. It is of a light fawn colour, but when bleached and seen from a distance with the sun's rays reflected from it, it appears quite white;" and Stearns, *op. cit.*, 239-240.

¹² The modern charts give two fathoms on this patch which lies four cables S.S.W. $\frac{3}{4}$ W. from the western side of Pinware bay east of Blanc Sablon. Cf. Bayfield, *op. cit.*, I, 137.

[DU LIEU APPELLÉ BLANC SABLON; DE L'ISLE DE BOUAYS^a; ET DE L'ISLE DES OUAISEAULX; LA SORTE ET QUANTITÉ D'OUAISEAULX QUI S'Y TROUVENT; ET DU PORT APPELLÉ LES ISLETTES.]

Blanc Sablon est vne conche, où il n'y a point d'abry du su, ny du suest¹. Et y a au su-surouaist d'icelle conche, deux isles, dont l'une a nom l'isle de Bouays², et l'autre, l'isle des Ouaiseaulx³, où il y a grant nombre de godez et de richars⁴, qui ont le bec et

^a Ramusio has, *Brest*, while the whole heading reads: *Del luogo detto Bianco sabbione, dell' Isola di Brest, & dell' Isola di Uccelli, la sorte & quantità d'Uccelli che vi si truovano, & del porto chiamato l'Isolette.*

OF THE PLACE CALLED BLANC SABLON, OF WOODY ISLAND, OF BIRD ISLAND, OF THE KIND AND NUMBERS OF BIRDS FOUND THERE; AND OF THE HARBOUR CALLED THE ISLETS.

Blanc Sablon is a bight where there is no shelter from the south nor from the south-east¹. To the south-south-west of this bight there are two islands, one of which is called, Woody island², and the other, Bird island³, where there are a great number of tinkers and puffins which have red beaks and feet and make their nests in holes under the earth like rabbits⁴. On doubling a head-

¹ Cf. Bayfield, *op. cit.*, I, 137: "Blanc Sablon . . . is partly sheltered by Ile au Bois and Greenly island, but south-westerly winds send in a heavy sea."

^a It is still called *Ile au Bois* or Woody island.

³ This second island is now called *Ile Verte* or Greenly island. Cf. Bayfield *op. cit.* I, 139: "Greenly island is the resort of myriads of puffins;" and Stearns, *op. cit.* 235-36: "The number of birds I saw on Greenly island was simply immense. . . . I have often seen the water covered with a clustered flock, all engaged in making a hoarse, rasping sound, not unlike the filing of a saw; this is also done by the 'murre' and the 'turre,' and at such times, whichever species is present, they receive from the sailors the name of 'guds,' from a fancied resemblance to that sound."

⁴ Cf. Stearns, *op. cit.*, 234: "The holes in the ground in which the puffins deposit their eggs are excavated by the birds themselves, an operation for which their powerful beaks and long, strong and sharp claws admirably adapt them . . . The sides of the island are perforated with innumerable holes;" and C. W. Townsend, *In Audubon's Labrador*, Boston, 1918, 241, describing Perroquet island around Long point: "Some of the puffins nest under or among the blocks of stone, and here they are as secure as the razor-billed auks that lay their eggs in the same regions."



The Great Auk.

les pieds rouges, et hairent dedans des pertuis soubz terre, comme connias. Ayant doublé vng cap de terre, qui est à vne lieue de Blanc Sablon⁵, y a vng hable et passaige, nommé les Islettes⁶, qui est milleurs que Blanc Sablon; et là se faict grant pescherie⁷. Dudit lieu des Islettes jucques à vng hable nommé Brest⁸, audit art de vent, y a dix lieues. Celuy hable est en cinquante et vng degrez (quarente), cinquante^b cinq mynutes de latitude, et en . . .^c de longitude. D'empuis les Islettes jucques audit lieu, y a isles; et est ledit Brestz en isles. Et davantaige, rangeant la coste à plus de troys lieues hors, son toutes isles, à plus de doze lieues loingn dudit Brest; quelles isles sont basses, et voyt on les haultes terres par dessus⁹.

^b When the word *quarente* is omitted, the numbers correspond with those in Ramusio; *quel porto è in cinquanta uno grado cinqua[n]ta cinque minuti di latitudine*. The late Bishop Howley (*Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, 1st ser., XII, ii, 157) suggested reading 51° 40' 55". I am more inclined to think the word, *quarente* was written by mistake.

^c There is a blank here in the MS. and in Ramusio.

land which is one league from Blanc Sablon⁵, there is a harbour and passage called the Islets⁶, which is better than Blanc Sablon; and much fishing is carried on there⁷. From the said Islets [Bradore bay] to a harbour called Brest⁸ in the same direction, there are ten leagues. This harbour lies in latitude 51° 55', and in . . . degrees of longitude. From the Islets to this place there are islands; and Brest lies among islands. And furthermore ranging

⁵ Long point two and three quarter miles west of Blanc Sablon.

⁶ Bradore bay. Cf. Bayfield, *op. cit.*, I, 145: "The bay is not difficult of access in moderate weather, but it is not suitable for vessels of heavy draught as the anchorage space is exposed to the heavy sea that rolls in with south-westerly winds." It is more than probable that the vessels of that day went on into Frigate harbour, as the inner port is called, where the anchorage is excellent though the space is small. Cf. *ibid.*, 146.

⁷ Cf. Abbé V. A. Huard, *Labrador et Anticosti* (Montréal, 1897), p. 464: "Il faut ajouter, touchant la baie de Brador, qu'elle eut autrefois une juste renommée comme place de pêche pour le saumon, la morue, le hareng, le maquereau et le loup marin;" and also C. W. Townsend, *op. cit.*, 234-235.

⁸ Now Bonne Espérance harbour in 51° 24' 01". The old name appears on the Desliens, Cabot, Vallard and Mercator maps and on the Desceliers planisphere where however it is placed to the east of Blanc Sablon. Hoyarsabal gives Droget, Cradon and Sachobodege between Les Isles and Brest. On Brest *vid.* Dr. S. E. Dawson's paper in *Transactions of the Royal Society*, 2nd ser. XI, ii, 3-30, 1906.

[COMMENT ILZ ENTRÈRENT AU PORT DE BREST
AVEC LES NAVIRES, ET ALLANS OULTRE VERS
L'OUEST PASSÈRENT PARMY LES ISLES, LES-
QUELLES TROUVÈRENT ESTRE EN SI GRANT
NOMBRE, QU'IL N'ESTOIT POSSIBLE LES NOM-
BRER; ET LES NOMMÈRENT TOUTES ISLES^a.]

Le dixième jour dudit mois de juign, entrames dedans ledit hable de Brest o nos navires, pour avoir des eaux et du boays¹,
55^r et nous parez, et | passez oultre ladite baye. Et le jour saint Barnabé², après la messe ouye, nous allames o nos barques oultre ledit hable, vers l'ouaist, descouvrir et veoirs quelz hables il y

^a The Italian reads: *Come entrarono nel porto di Brest con le navi, & andando oltre verso Ponente passorono per mezzo l'Isolette lequali ritrovarono esser in cosi gran numero che non era possibile numerarle & le chiamorno l'Isle.*

the coast at a distance of three leagues out there are islands all along for more than twelve leagues from Brest, which islands are low and one can see the high shore over the tops of them⁹.

HOW THEY ENTERED BREST HARBOUR WITH
THE SHIPS AND GOING ON TOWARDS THE WEST
MADE THEIR WAY AMONG THE ISLANDS WHICH
THEY FOUND SO NUMEROUS THAT IT WAS IM-
POSSIBLE TO COUNT THEM; AND THEY NAMED
THEM "ALL ISLES."

On [Wednesday] June 10 we entered Brest harbour with our ships to get wood and water¹ and trim ship and proceed on beyond the said bay [of Castles i.e. the strait of Belle Isle]. And on St. Barnabas's day² after hearing mass, we went with our long-boats beyond this harbour towards the west, to examine the coast and

⁹ Bayfield, *op. cit.*, I, 152. "The mainland has hitherto formed the coast line, but at Salmon bay [inside Bonne Espérance harbour] the islands commence, and continue 14 miles. They are of all shapes, sizes and heights (less than 200 feet) and run in order westward under the names of Eskimo, Old Fort and Dog islands. . . . Off these islands lie many small rocks and ledges the outermost of which are fully 4 miles from the mainland."

¹ *Ibid.*, I, 148. "Bonne Espérance Harbour. Wood and water may be had in abundance from the mainland." It is still frequented by fishing vessels. Cf. Bayfield, *op. cit.*, 7th edit., 1906, 172: "The whole of Bonne Espérance Bay forms an excellent harbour in which there is room for many vessels of large size."

² Thursday, June 11.

avoit. Nous passames par my les isles, qui sont en si grant nombre, qu'il n'est possible les sçavoir nombrez, qui contiennent environ dix lieues outre ledit hable. Nous couchames en l'une d'icelles isles, pour la nuyt passez, et y trouvames en grant quantité d'œufs de cannes³, et aultres ouaiseaulx, qui hairent es(t) isles. Lesdites isles furent nommées *Toutes Isles*⁴.

see what harbours there were. We made our way among the islands which are so numerous that it is impossible to count them. They extend beyond the said harbour for some ten leagues. We slept on one of these islands overnight and found there ducks'³ eggs in great quantity and those of other birds that nest on islands. We named these islands, "All Isles"⁴.

³ The eider-duck, *Somateria dresseri*, Sharpe; cf. Townsend, *op. cit.* 46 where Audubon's plate is reproduced.

⁴ Now called Eskimo, Old Fort and Dog islands. The old name is given on the Harleian mappemonde and also on the Desceliers maps, where however it is placed much too far to the west. Cf. A. S. Packard, *The Labrador Coast*, etc. (London, 1891), 85: "Nearly the whole coast of Labrador is lined with multitudes of small islands, separated by deep, narrow channels from the mainland . . . These numberless islets and channels are too numerous and intricate to be accurately mapped. At least our ordinary charts give no accurate idea of their location."

[DU PORT APPELLÉ SAINT ANTHOINE, PORT SAINT SERVAN, PORT JACQUES CARTIER, DE LA RIPVIÈRE NOMMÉE SAINT JACQUES; DES COUSTUMES ET VESTEMENS DES HABITANS DE L'ISLE DE BLANC SABLON^a.]

Le landemain, dozeiesme, nous persumes oultre lesdites isles, et à la fin du fort d'icelles, nous trouvames vng bon hable, qui fut nonmé *sainct Anthoine*¹. Et oultre, environ vne lieue ou deux, nous trouvames vne petite ripvière, fort parfonde, qui a la terre au surrouaist, et est entre deux haultes terres. C'est vng bon hable; et fut planté vne croix audit hable, et nommé *sainct Servan*². Au surrouaist dudit hable et ripvière, environ

^a The Italian reads: *Del porto detto Santo Antonio, porto San Servano, porto Jacques Cartier, del fiume chiamato San Iacomo, de costumi & vestimenti de gli habitanti nell'Isola di Bianco sabbione.*

OF THE HARBOUR CALLED ST. ANTHONY'S HARBOUR, OF PORT ST. SERVAN, PORT JACQUES CARTIER, OF THE RIVER CALLED ST. JAMES'S RIVER; OF THE COSTUMES AND CLOTHING OF THE INHABITANTS ON THE ISLAND OF BLANC SABLON.

The next day [Friday, June] the twelfth, we continued our way through these islands, and at the end of the thickest portion of them, we found a good harbour, which was named St. Anthony's harbour¹. And further on, about a league or two, we came to a small, very deep passage with the land running south-west and with very high shores. It is a good harbour; and a cross was set up there, and it was named St. Servan's harbour². About a league

¹ Rocky Bay. Cf. Bayfield, *op. cit.*, I, 159: "One mile within the entrance, on the south-east side there is . . . a small cove, in which small vessels anchor in 5 fathoms, mud bottom, well sheltered from all winds." The festival of St. Anthony of Padua fell on June 30.

² Lobster Bay. "A narrow inlet," says Bayfield, *loc. cit.*, "extending 4 miles N.E. . . . between high and steep rocky shores . . . There is anchorage quite to the head, with muddy bottom everywhere." The festival of St. Servan fell on July 1. St. Servan is practically a suburb of St. Malo.

vne lieue, y a vng islot, ront comme vng four³, avironné de plusieurs aultres plus petiz islotz, qui donne congnoissance desdits hables. Plus oultre, à dix^b lieues, y a vne aultre bonne ripvière, plus grande, où il y a pluseurs saulmons. | Nous la nonmasmes *la ripvière saint Jacques*⁴. Estans à icelle, nous aperseumes vng ^{55v} grant navire, qui estoit de la Rochelle, qui avoit passé la nuyt le hable de Brest,⁵ où il pensoit aller faire sa pescherie; et ne sçavoit où ilz estoient. Nous allames à bort, avecques noz barques, et le mysmes dedans vng aultre hable, à vne lieue plus à ouaist que ladite ripvière saint Jacques, lequel je pencze l'un des bons hables du monde; et iceluy fut nommé *le hable Jacques Cartier*⁶.

^b Ramusio has, *due leghe*. In that case the river St. Jacques would seem to be Napetepee bay, while Jacques Cartier harbour would be the present Mistanoque bay.

to the south-west of this harbour and passage, there is an islet round like an oven, with several other small islets about it, which give indication of the said harbours³. Ten leagues farther on there is another good opening somewhat larger and where there are many salmon. We named it St. James's river⁴. While here we saw a large ship from La Rochelle that in the night had run past the harbour of Brest⁵ where she intended to go and fish; and they did not know where they were. We went on board with our long-boats and brought her into another harbour, one league farther west than the said river St. James⁴. This harbour is in my opinion one of the best in the world. It was named port Jacques Cartier⁶. If the soil were as good as the harbours, it

³ *Ibid.*, *loc. cit.*: "The Boulet [i.e. cannon-ball], about $1\frac{1}{4}$ cables in diameter, is a smooth, round islet about 70 feet in height. Together with the opening to Lobster bay, which is situated E. by N. $\frac{3}{4}$ N. $1\frac{1}{4}$ miles from it, it serves to point out the position of a vessel off the coast."

⁴ Shecatika bay. *Ibid.*, 164: "This bay has many islands, branches, and narrow crooked passages too intricate for any to attempt who are not well acquainted with the coast." The festival of St. Jacques, bishop of Toul, fell on June 23.

⁵ Bonne Espérance harbour.

⁶ Cumberland harbour. *Ibid.*, *loc. cit.*: "This is an excellent harbour, the best and easiest of access on the coast. It has depth and room enough for large ships." The old name is given on the Desliens and Mercator maps and on the Desceliers mappemonde and planisphere. *Vid.* plates VIII, XIV and XV, pp. 128, 224 and 240 *infra*.

Si la terre estoit aussi bonne^c qu'il y a bons hables, se seroit vng bien; mais elle ne se doit nonmer Terre Neuffve, mais pierres et rochers effrables et mal rabottez; car en toute ladite coste du nort, je n'y vy vne charetée de terre, et si descendy en plusieurs lieux⁷. Fors à Blanc Sablon^d, il n'y a que de la mousse, et de petiz bouays avortez⁸. Fin, j'estime mieulx que aultrement, que c'est la terre que Dieu donna à Cayn⁹. Il y a des gens à ladite terre, qui sont assez de belle corpulance, mais ilz sont gens

^c This word is repeated in the MS.

^d Such is the punctuation in Ramusio who has: *& pur vi smontai in parechi luoghi, & all'isola di Bianco sabbione non vi è altro che musco*. The MS. however reads: *et si descendy en plusieurs lieux, fors à Blanc Sablon. Il n'y a que,* etc.

would be a blessing; but the land should not be called the New Land, being composed of stones and horrible rugged rocks; for along the whole of the north shore [of the Gulf], I did not see one cart-load of earth and yet I landed in many places⁷. Except at Blanc Sablon there is nothing but moss and short, stunted shrub⁸. In fine I am rather inclined to believe that this is the land God gave to Cain⁹. There are people on this coast whose bodies are fairly well formed but they are wild and savage folk. They wear their hair tied up on the top of their heads like a handful of twisted hay, with a nail or something of the sort passed through the middle,

⁷ Cf. Maria R. Audubon, *Audubon and his Journals*, I. 365, (London, 1898): "We scrambled about . . . but not a square foot of *earth* could we see. A poor, rugged, miserable country."

⁸ Bayfield, *op. cit.* I, 143: "The mainland and islands [from Greenly island to cape Whittle] are of granitic rocks, bare of trees excepting at the heads of bays, where small spruce and birch trees are met with occasionally. When not entirely bare, the mainland and islands are covered with moss or scrubby spruce bushes;" and also Packard, *op. cit.*, 63: "Groves of dwarfed alders, over which one could look while sitting down, crowded the sides of the valleys. . . The groves of spruce and hackmatack were of the same lilliputian height . . . Particularly noticeable were the clump of dwarf willow from six inches to a foot in height."

⁹ Genesis, IV, 12: "When thou tillest the ground, it shall not henceforth yield unto thee her strength;" but cf. Cartwright, *op. cit.*, III, 222-223: "Although, in sailing along this coast, the astonished mariner is insensibly drawn into a conclusion, that this country was the last which God made, and that He

effarables et sauvaiges. Ilz ont leurs cheueulx liez sur leurs testes, en faczon d'une pougnye de fain teurczé, et vng clou passé par my, ou aultre chosse; et y lient aulcunes plumes de ouaiseaulx. Ilz se voistent de peaulx de bestes, tant hommes que femmes; mais les femmes sont plus closes et serrées en leursdites peaux, et sçaintes par le corps. Ilz se paingnent de certaines couleurs tannées. | Ilz ont des barques^e en quoy ilz vont par la mer, qui^{56r} sont faictes d'escorche de bouays de boul, o quoy ilz peschent force lous marins. Dempuis les avoir veuz, j'ay seu que là n'est pas leur demeurance, et qu'ilz viennent des terres plus chaudes, pour prandre desditz lous marins et aultres choses, pour leur vie¹⁰.

^e Lescarbot (edit. 1609 p. 259) has added here in the margin; "Barques ou Canots des Sauvages".

and into it they weave a few bird's feathers. They clothe themselves with the furs of animals, both men as well as women; but the women are wrapped up more closely and snugly in their furs; and have a belt about their waists. They [all] paint themselves with certain tan colours. They have canoes made of birch-bark in which they go about, and from which they catch many seals. Since seeing them [the Indians], I have been informed that their home is not at this place but that they come from warmer countries to catch these seals and to get other food for their sustenance¹⁰.

had no other view than to throw together there, the refuse of His materials, as of no use to mankind, yet, he no sooner penetrates a few miles into a bay, than the great change, both of climate and prospects, alter his opinion. The air then becomes soft and warm; bare rocks no longer appear; the land is thick clothed with timber, which reaches down almost to high-water mark, and is generally edged with grass," etc.

¹⁰ According to J. P. Howley, (*The Beothucks*, 10, Cambridge, 1915) these were Beothucks. Cf. Crignon's *Discorso* in Ramusio, *op. cit.*, III, 423^v: "Il lor [the Indians] peschar è di lupi marini, marsouini, & certi uccelli marini detti margaux, iquali pigliano nell' isole & li fanno seccare, & del grasso de detti pesci fanno olio, & finito il tempo delle pescherie loro, approssimandosi l'inverno, essi si ritiran colli suoi pesci; et li nelle barchette fatte di scorze d'arbori detti Buil, et se ne vanno in altri paese che son forse piu caldi, ma non sappiamo dove."

[D'AULCUNS CAPS, À SÇAVOIR: CAP DOUBLE, CAP POINTU, CAP ROYAL ET CAP DE LATTE; DES MONTS DES GRANCHES, DES ISLES COULONBIERS, ET D'VNE GRANDE PESCHERIE DE MOLUES^a.]

Le XIII^e jour, nous retournames o nosdites barques à bord, pour faire voile, pour ce que le temps estoit bon. Et le dymenche, XIII^e, fysmes chanter la messe. Et le lundy, XV^{me}, appareillames dudit Brest¹, et fysmes la routte sur le su, pour avoir la congnoissance de la terre que nous y voyons^b, aparaisance à deux isles, mais quant nous fumes au mytan de la baye², ou environ, nous congneumes que s'estoit terre ferme³, dont y avoit gros cap, doublé l'vn par dessurs l'autre; et pour ce, le nonmames, *cap Double*⁴. Au parmy de la baye², soubzdames à cent brasses, et

^a The Italian reads: *Di alcuni Capi, cioè Capo doppio, Capo puntito, Capo reale & Capo di latte, de Monti delle grange, dell'Isole colombare. & di una gran percheria di molue.* ^b Ramusio has, *delle terre che v'havavamo vedute.*

OF SOME CAPES, TO WIT: CAPE DOUBLE, POINT-ED CAPE, CAPE ROYAL AND LATH CAPE; OF THE BARN MOUNTAINS, THE DOVE-COT ISLANDS AND OF A RICH COD-FISHING GROUND.

On [Saturday, June] the thirteenth we returned with our long-boats on board [the ships] in order to make sail, as the weather was fine. On Sunday the fourteenth we had mass sung; and on Monday the fifteenth we set sail from Brest¹ and set our course towards the south in order to examine the land we saw there, in appearance like two islands. But when we were half-way across the bay² or thereabouts, we made out that it was mainland³, on which was a large cape doubled one part above the other, and on this account we named it cape Double⁴. In the middle of the bay² we sounded in 100 fathoms and clean bottom⁵. The distance across from Brest¹ to the said cape Double⁴ is about twenty

¹ Bonne Espérance harbour.

² *Des Châteaux*, i.e. the strait of Belle Isle. Cf. *supra* pp. 9, 11 and 13.

³ The north-west coast of Newfoundland.

⁴ Now *pointe Riche* or Rich point which forms the northern end of Ingornachois bay in latitude 50° 42'. Vid. the drawing in Cloué, *op. cit.*, tom. 1^{er}, p. 319, No. 106. The double effect is increased by the highlands of St. John in the rear.

⁵ That is to say no sand, mud, shells or coral came up in the lead. The modern charts give mud, and only a depth of sixty to seventy-five fathoms. Cf. Howley's paper, in *Trans. Roy. Soc. Can.* 1st ser. XII. ii, 157, note 1.

fontz curé⁵. Il y a de traversée de Brest¹ audit cap Double,⁴ environ vngt lieues; et à cinq ou six lieues, souldames à quarente brasses. Nous trouvames ladite terre estre gisante au nordest et surrouaist, vngn quart du nort et du su.

Le landemain, XVI^{me} dudit moys, nous sillames le long de la coste au surrouaist, vng quart | du su, environ trante cinq lieues ⁵⁶ dempuis cap Double,⁴ où trouvames des terres à montaignes moult haultes et effarables; entre lesquelles y a vne, apparoissante estre comme vne granche^c, et pour ce, nonmames ce lieu, *les monts de Granches*⁶. Icelles haultes terres et montaignes sont hachées et creuses; et y a entre elles et la mer des basses terres. Ladite journée auparavant⁷, n'avions eu congnoissance d'aulture terre, pour les bruimes et obscurté du temps qu'i faisoit. Et au soir⁸,

^c Ramusio has, *vi si vedeano non so che piccole capanne, che noi in villa chiamiamo grange.*

leagues; and at five or six leagues out we sounded in forty fathoms. We found the said coast [of Newfoundland] to run north-east and south-west, one quarter north and south.

The next day [Tuesday], the sixteenth of the month [of June], we ran along this coast to the south-west, one quarter south, for some thirty-five leagues from cape Double⁴, when we came to a region of very high and rugged mountains, among which was one in appearance like a barn and on this account we named this region the Barn mountains⁶. These highlands and mountains are cut up and hewn out; and between them and the sea are low shores. On the day before this⁷ we had had no further sight of the coast on account of the fog and thick weather we experienced. And in the evening⁸ we caught sight of a break in the coast-line⁹, like the mouth of a river, between the said Barn mountains⁶ and a cape¹⁰ that lay to the south-south-west of us some three leagues off. This cape is all eaten away at the top, and at the bottom towards the sea is pointed, on which account we named it the Pointed cape¹¹. To the north of it, one league off, lies a flat island¹².

⁶ The highlands of St. John. The old name is given on the Desceliers mappemonde, plate XII, p. 192.

⁷ Monday, June 15, the day they left Bonne Espérance harbour.

⁸ Tuesday, June 16.

⁹ Sandy bay.

¹⁰ Now *Tête-de-Vache* or Cow Head in latitude 49° 55'.

¹¹ Cf. Maxwell, *op. cit.*, 505: "Cow Head, a conspicuous peninsula one mile in length by half a mile in breadth, and densely wooded on its southern and western sides, rises to a height of 206 feet."

¹² Stearing island.

nous aparut vne faulte de terre⁹, comme vne entrée de ripvière, entre lesdits mons des Granches⁶ et vng cap¹⁰, qui nous demouroit au su surouaist, environ trois lieues de nous. Celuy cap est, par le hault de luy, tout rongné, et par le bas, vers la mer, est apoincté; et pour ce, le nonmames, *cap Pointu*¹¹. Au nort de luy, à vne lieue, y a vne isle platte¹².

Et pource que voullymes avoir congnoissance d'icelle entrée⁹, pour veoirs s'il y avoit aulcune bonne posée et havre, mysmes la voile bas, pour la nuyt passez.

Le landemain, XVII^e dudit moys, nous eumes tourmente de vent de nordeist, et mysmes au pepefil à courrir, et à la cappe¹³; et fysmes de chemin, vallant le surouaist, trante sept lieues, jucques au jeudy matin¹⁴, que nous estions le travers d'une baye, 57² plaine de isles | rondes, comme coulombiers; et pour ce, leur donnames à nom, *les Coulombiers*, et la baye, *sainct Jullian*¹⁵; de la

And as we wished to examine this opening⁹, to see if there was any good anchorage and a harbour, we lowered the sails for the night.

The next day [Wednesday], the seventeenth of the said month [of June], we had a storm from the north-east, and we clewed up the mainsail to scud before it and housed the topmasts¹³. We ran some thirty-seven leagues in a south-westerly direction until Thursday moraing¹⁴, when we came abreast of a bay full of round islands like dove-cots, and on this account we called them the Dove-cots and the bay St. Julian's bay¹⁵. From this bay to a

¹³ Cf. *Us et coustumes de la mer* (Bordeaux, 1647) 2^{ème} partie, 29-30: "Comme aussi dans le peril convient *caposer* ou mettre le Navire à la *cape*, c'est à dire amarrer le gouvernail bien ferme & immobile pour suivre l'abandon du vent, abaisser les masts de hune ou matereaux, troussez toutes les voiles sauf le Pafi, qu'on laisse boursoufler, d'autant que le vent s'enfermant en iceluy pousse en haut & releve le vaisseau, le soulageant beaucoup au hurt & à la tombee;" and also La Roncière, *op. cit.*, II, 484. ¹⁴ June 18.

¹⁵ Now bay of Islands. The Desceliers mappemonde gives it and adds the word *Coullonbier*. Cf. Cloué, *op. cit.*, I, 288: "Un groupe d'îles est situé dans l'entrée de la baie [of Islands]. . . Ces îles font reconnaître de très loin l'entrée de la baie, car elles sont très élevées, particulièrement Guernesey, Tweed et La Perle, qui sont presque aussi hautes que les montagnes du continent [i.e. Newfoundland];" and also the sketches Nos. 77 and 78, *ibid.*, 285-286. Guernsey island is 1022 feet high, Pearl, 845 and Tweed, 702. Cf. Howley's paper, *loc. cit.* 159.

quelle, jucques à vng cap, qui demeure au su, vng quart du surouaist, qui fut nommé *cap Royal*¹⁶, y a sept lieues. Et à ouaist surouaist dudit cap, y a vng aultre cap¹⁷, qui est bien rongné par le bas de luy, et rond par le hault; au nort duquel, environ demye lieue, y a vne isle basse¹⁸. Celuy cap fut nommé, *cap de Latte*¹⁹. Entre cestz deux caps, y a terres basses, par dessus lesquelles y en a de moult haultes, en semblance de y avoir ripvières. A deux lieux de cap Royal¹⁶ y a vingt brasses de parfont, et la plus grande pescherie de grosses molues, qui soit possible; desquelles mollues en prynmes, en attendant nostre conpaignon, plus d'un cent en moins d'un heure²⁰.

cape that was named cape Royal¹⁶ lying to the south, one quarter south-west, the distance is seven leagues. And to the west-south-west of this cape there is another cape¹⁷, which is much worn away at the bottom and round at the top, to the north of which about half a league there lies a low island¹⁸. This cape [Cormorant] was named Lath cape¹⁹. Between these two capes [Bear Head and cape Cormorant] are low shores, beyond which are very high lands with apparently rivers among them. Two leagues from cape Royal¹⁶ there is a depth of twenty fathoms and the best fishing possible for big cod. Of these cod we caught, while waiting for our consort, more than a hundred in less than an hour²⁰.

¹⁶ Now *pointe de l'Ours* or Bear Head in 49°. It is evidently the *c. Real* of the Desceliers mappemonde though placed much too far south. The Mercator map of 1569 puts it on the mainland opposite the Magdalens. Cf. Maxwell, *op. cit.*, 473-474: "Bear Head is very conspicuous when seen from the south-westward, assuming, from that view, the form of a crouching animal . . . The northern summit is 1,210 feet above the sea, falling in a perpendicular cliff; the southern summit is 1,255 feet high.

¹⁷ Cape Cormorant. Cf. *ibid.*, 454: "Cape Cormorant . . . rises in a perpendicular limestone cliff, to a height of about 700 feet, and then, in a steep slope, to a somewhat conical summit 968 feet above the sea."

¹⁸ *Ile Rouge* or Red island.

¹⁹ Cape Cormorant, lies five and a half miles north of cape St. George which forms the north-east corner of St. George's bay. It was doubtless so named after *pointe de la Latte* on the French coast, a little to the west of St. Malo. *Latte* means the batten or thin strip of wood or metal placed around the hatch to hold down the tarpaulin covering.

²⁰ Cf. Maxwell, *op. cit.*, 460: "Cod fish are caught in large numbers about the bar, and on the banks outside [Port-à-Port bay]."

[D'AUCUNES ISLES ENTRE LE CAP ROYAL ET LE
CAP DE LATTE^a.]

Le landemain, XVIII^e¹ jour dudit moys, le vent nous fut contraire, et grant vent; et retournames vers cap Royal², cuider trouver hable. Avecques nos barques^b fumes descouvrir entre ledit cap Royal² et cap de Latte³, et trouvames que parsurs les basses terres, y a vne grande baye⁴, fort parfonde, et isles dedans, la quelle est close devers le su desdites basses terres, qui font vng
57^v costé de l'antrée, et cap Royal², | l'autre. Lesdites basses terres s'avancent en la mer plus de demye lieue, de pays plat, et mauvais fons⁵; et au parmy de l'entrée y a vne isle⁶. Ladite baye est en

^a The Italian reads: *Di alcune Isole tra Capo reale. & Capo di latte*, which latter was naturally rendered by Florio, "Cape of milke"!

^b Such is the punctuation in Ramusio: *pensando di trovarvi porto, & con le nostre barche*, etc. The MS. has: *hable avecques nos barques. Fumes*, etc.

OF SOME ISLANDS BETWEEN CAPE ROYAL AND
LATH CAPE.

On the next day [Friday], the eighteenth¹ of the said month [of June], the wind came ahead and blew hard; and we put back towards cape Royal [Bear Head] to try and find a harbour. We set out with our long-boats to examine the coast between cape Royal [Bear Head] and Lath cape [cape Cormorant], and found that on the other side of the low shores, there is a large bay⁴ running back a long way, with islands in it. It is land-locked to the south of the low shores, which form one side of the entrance, while cape Royal [Bear Head] forms the other. These low shores stretch out into the sea for more than half a league, with shoal water and bad ground⁵; and in the middle of the entrance there is an island⁶.

¹ It should be nineteenth. ² Bear Head. ³ Cape Cormorant.

⁴ Now Port-à-Port bay extending from latitude 48°34' to 48° 47'.

⁵ Long Point. Cf. Maxwell, *op. cit.*, 457-458: "The northern shore of the remarkable tongue of land, known as Long point, may be considered to begin at Clam bank cove, from which place the extreme of the point is about 12 miles distant . . . It is thickly wooded with dwarf spruce and other stunted trees and bushes . . . About 1½ miles from the extreme of the point, the surface becomes bare of trees . . . For the last half mile the point is a narrow strip of rocks, from which a tongue of shoal water, forming the bar, extends for a distance of nearly a mile."

⁶ *Ile du Renard* or Fox island.

quarente huyt degrez et demy de latitude⁷, et . . . ° degrez de longitude. Celuy jour⁸ ne trouvames hable pour poser, et tynmes pour la nuyt à la mer, le cap à ouaist.

[DE L'ISLE¹ NOMMÉ SAINCT JEHAN^a.]

Depuis ledit jour jucques au XXIIII^e jour dudit moys, qui est le jour saint Jehan, eumes tormente et vent contraire et seraison, tellement que ne peumes avoir congnoissance de terre, jucques audit jour saint Jehan, que nous eumes congnoissance d'un cap de terre, qui nous demouroit au suest, qui, à nostre esme^b, nous demouroit au surouaist de cap Royal², environ trante cinq lieues. Et celuy jour fist bruimes et mauvais temps, et ne peumes approcher de ladite terre; et pour ce que s'estoit le jour monseigneur saint Jehan, le nommames *le cap saint Jehan*³.

^a There is a blank here in the MS. and in Ramusio.

^a The Italian reads: *Dell' Isola chiamata San Giovanni*.

^b Cf. *Us et coustumes de la mer*, 2^{ème} part., p. 19: "*Esme*, c'est le raisonnement ou jugement du Pilote, du lieu auquel il croit estre."

This [Port-à-Port] bay lies in latitude 48° 30' ⁷ and in . . . degrees of longitude. That day⁸ we found no harbour in which to anchor and headed out to sea for the night, the prow to the west.

OF AN ISLAND¹ NAMED ST. JOHN'S ISLAND.

From that day [Friday, June 19] until [Wednesday] the twenty-fourth of the said month, which is St. John's day, we had stormy weather, head winds and overcast sky to such an extent that we could not get sight of land until St. John's day, when we saw a head-land to the south-east of us. By our reckoning it lay about thirty-five leagues to the south-west of cape Royal [Bear Head]. That day we had mist and bad weather and could not draw near the said coast; and since it was St. John's day, we named the cape, cape St. John³.

⁷ 48°35'.

⁸ Friday, June 19.

¹ Although it was a cape and not an island to which this name was given, one must remember that Newfoundland was then thought to form an extensive archipelago. It was indeed not represented as one island until 1599. *Vid.* HARRISSE, *op. cit.*, 282-283.

² Bear Head.

³ Probably cape Anguille, the south-western extremity of St. George's bay, although a cape still called *cap Saint-Jean* or cape John lies four and a half miles up St. George's bay from cape Anguille. The Mercator map places it on the main shore to the south of the Magdalens.

[D'AUCUNES ISLES, NOMMÉES LES ISLES DE MARGAULX; ET DES SORTES D'OUAISEAUX ET BESTES QUI S'Y TROUVENT; DE L'ISLE DE BRION, ET DU CAP DU DAULPHIN^a.]

Le landemain, XXV^e jour, fist [aussi^b] mauvais temps, obscur et venteux; et fymes courrir à ouaist nourouaist partie du jour, et le soir, nous mysmes en travers^c, jucques au second quart¹, que apparoilames; et lors, par nostre esme, estions au

^a The Italian reads: *Di alcune Isole chiamate l'Isole di Margaulx, & sorte di uccelli & bestie che vi si trovano. dell'Isola di Brion, & Capo del delfin.*

^b This word is omitted in the MS. Ramusio has, *fece anche cattivo tempo.*

^c *Mettre en travers* is to lie broadside to the wind with one topsail drawing and the other backing, so that the vessel is virtually at a standstill.

OF SOME ISLANDS NAMED THE GANNET ISLANDS
AND OF THE KINDS OF BIRDS AND BEASTS FOUND
THERE; OF BRION'S ISLAND AND CAPE DAUPHIN.

The next day [Thursday], the twenty-fifth [of June], the weather was again bad, with overcast sky and much wind; and we headed west-north-west for part of the day, and in the evening hove to until the second watch¹, when we once more made sail. By our reckoning we were then seventeen and a half leagues north-west, one quarter west of cape St. John². And when we hoisted sail, the wind was north-west, and we ran south-west about fifteen leagues, and [on Friday, June 26] came to three islands³, two of which were small and as steep as a wall, so that it is impossible to climb to the top. Between these there is a narrow passage⁴. These islands were as completely covered with birds, which nest there, as a field is covered with grass⁵. The larger one was full

¹ This apparently began as now at midnight. Cf. L. Estancelin, *Recherches sur les voyages et découvertes des navigateurs normands* (Paris, 1832), p. 242: "Cette nuit, au 2^e quart, qui est environ minuit;" and also the edition of Parmentier's voyage published by M. Ch. Schefer at Paris in 1883, p. 6.

² Cape Anguille.

³ The Bird Rocks in 47° 50'. Cf. Bayfield, *op. cit.*, I, 38: "They [the Bird Rocks] present perpendicular cliffs on every side; yet it is possible to ascend them with great difficulty in one or two places, but there is no landing upon them except in the calmest sea." Great Bird rock is 105 feet high. See plate III, p. 32.

⁴ Cf. Bayfield, *op. cit.*, I, 38: "Sunken rocks leave only a boat passage between them." Cf. Howley's paper, *loc. cit.* 163.

⁵ Leigh who visited them in June, 1597 remarked (Hakluyt, *op. cit.*, III, 200) that "The birds sit there as thicke as stones lie on a paved street."

norouaist, vng quart d'ouaist, dudit cap saint Jehan² dix sept lieues et demye^d. Et lors que | appareillames, le vent estoit nor- 58^r
ouaist, et fymes courrir au surouaist quinze lieues, et vynmes trouver trois isles³, dont y en avoit deux petites et acorez comme murailles, tellement que possible n'est de monter dessus; entre lesquelles y a vng petit forillon^{e 4}. Icelles isles [estoit^f] aussi

^d Ramusio has, *leghe sette è meza*.

^e Ramusio translated *forillon* by *scoglio*, and Godefroy (*Dictionnaire de l'ancienne langue française*, IV, p. 79, Paris, 1885) gives "cape". What is meant however is the "push-through" of the sailors (Vid., *Transactions of the Royal Society*, 1st ser., XII, ii, 163), so that Florio was correct in giving "clift". Vid. also HARRISSE, *op. cit.*, 179, note 5, and R. G. THWAITES, *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, vol. XXII, 319, note 8, Cleveland, 1818 (*sic pro* 1898).

^f This word is omitted in the MS. Ramusio has, *Queste Isole erano*, etc.

of gannets, which are white and larger than geese⁶. And on one part of the other was likewise a great number of them, and the other part was full of murre⁷. And at the foot of the cliffs were likewise some of these murre and some large puffins, which are

Cf. Audubon, *op. cit.*, I, 361: "The birds sit almost touching each other and in regular lines . . . The whole surface is perfectly covered with nests placed about two feet apart, in such regular order that you may look through its lines, etc."

⁶ Cf. C. J. Maynard, *The Birds of Eastern North America*, etc. (Newtonville, Mass., 1881 in 4°), 463-464: "The fog through which we had hitherto been sailing, scaled off at this moment, disclosing to our gaze one of the grandest sights that we ever beheld, for directly in front of us, rose a huge, rocky bastion, the precipitous sides of which were occupied by myriads of Awks, Guillemots, and Puffins, thousands of snowy plumaged Gannets floated in air over the high cliffs, while the water below was thickly dotted with various species . . . Among the most noticeable birds on the rock, were the Gannets (*Sula bassana*), and they occupied a considerable space on the north-west side of the upper portion. Here . . . the bulky nests, which were composed of seaweed, were placed in long rows, about a foot apart, reminding one strongly of hills of corn . . . Early in the morning, when all the birds were on the nests, they presented a singular appearance, for there was fully a quarter of an acre of Gannets . . . and when we reached the edge of the precipice, there were, at least, ten thousand Gannets before us, flying high over the surging waves. A sight like this . . . strongly reminded one of a snow-storm, when the countless flakes whirl in wild confusion." Mr. Maynard (*ibid.*, 465) estimated the number of gannets in 1872 at about 20,000 which was 80,000 less than Dr. Bryant had counted in 1860. Cf. also Audubon, *op. cit.*, I, 360-361; and John M. Clarke, *Observations on the Magdalen Islands*, plates 15-17, Albany 1911, (New York State Museum, Bulletin 149).

⁷ *Ibid.*, 465: "The Murre (*Uria Troile*) were breeding in close proximity . . . and if one chanced to approach too near the irritable Gannets, it was seized by the neck and unceremoniously dropped over the precipice."

plaines de ouaiseaux que vng pré de herbe⁵, qui heirent au dedans d'icelles isles; dont la plus-grande estoit plaine de margaulx, qui sont blancs, et plus-grans que ouays⁶. Et en l'autre y en avoit paroillement, en vne [partie⁷] quantité d'elle, et en l'autre, plaine de godez⁷. Et au bas, y avoit paroillement desdits godez, et des grans apponatz, qui sont paroilz de ceulx de l'isle, dont est cy davant faict mencion⁸. Nous descendismes au bas de la plus

■ This word is also omitted in the MS. Though Ramusio omits part of the sentence, he gives us the word we want: *& in la maggiore vi era una infinità di quelli che chiamiamo margaulx, quali sono bianchi & piu grandi che oche, & eran separati in una parte; in l'altra parte vi eran di godetz Isoli*. On account of the last capital Florio translated this, "in the other part were Godetz Isoli"!

similar to those on the island mentioned above⁸. We landed on the lower part of the smaller island⁹ and killed more than a thousand murre and great auks, of which we took away as many as we wished in our long-boats. One might have loaded in an hour thirty such long-boats. We named these islands, the Gannet islands¹⁰. Five leagues to the west of these islands was the other island¹¹ which is about two leagues long and as many in breadth. We sailed thither and anchored for the night [Friday-Saturday, June 26-27] in order to get water and fire-wood. This island is

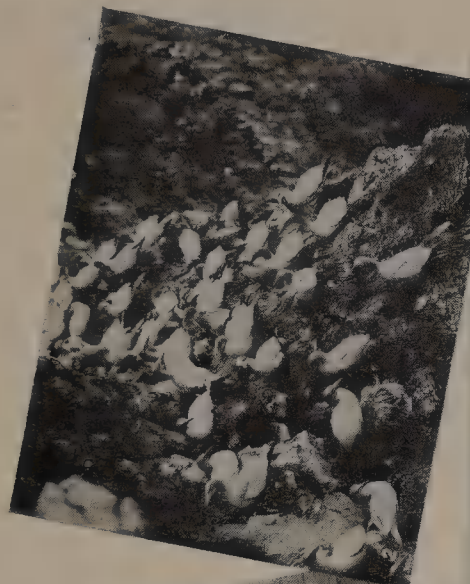
⁸ At Bird or Greenly island, p. 16, *supra*. Cf. *Ibid.*, 498: "I found these odd, little Puffins (*Mormon Arctica*) nesting on the face of the high cliffs on Bryon island, but on Bird Rock, they dug their burrows on the surface, often excavating beneath a flat slab of limestone, with which a portion of the rock was strewn. The burrows were about six inches in diameter, usually turned either to the right or left, and were from two to six feet long; but the terminus which was slightly enlarged, was never very far from the surface. The single egg was placed in this chamber and was always covered by either the male or female Puffin." According to Mr. F. M. Chapman, *The Century*, July, 1899, the French-Canadian name for the puffin is *paroquet*.

⁹ North Bird rock.

¹⁰ Now *Iles aux Oiseaux* or the Bird Rocks. The old name is given on the Harleian and Desceliers mappemondes. Cf. J. M. Clarke, *The Heart of Gaspé*, 224. New York, 1913. Cf. Hakluyt, *op. cit.*, III, 189; and F. M. Chapman in *The Century* for July, 1899, 339: "These gannets are magnificent birds, exhibiting, on the wing, admirable grace and power. They dive for fish from a height of forty feet or more, half closing their wings until they resemble enormous spear-heads, and descending with a force and speed that take them far below the surface of the water, which splashes five feet or more into the air as they strike it."

¹¹ Ramusio has, *un'altra Isola* which is more correct as the Bird Rocks themselves are really three in number although the third is only a small barren rock. The island now mentioned is Brion island, which lies ten and three quarter

PLATE III.



1. *Great Bird Rock.*
2. *Gannets on a Ledge.*
3. *Reproduction of the Ledges in the American Museum of Natural History.*

petitte⁹, et tuames de godez et de apponatz, plus de mille, et en prinmes, en noz barques, ce que nous en voullinmes. L'on y eust chargé, en vne heure, trante icelles barques. Nous nommames ces illes isles, *isles de Margaulx*¹⁰. A cinq lieues desdites isles estoit l'autre¹¹ isle, à ouaist d'elles, qui a environ deux lieues de long et autant de leise. Nous y fumes posez pour la nuyt, pour avoir des eaux et du bouays à feu. Icelle isle | est rangée de sablons, 58^v et^h beau fons, et possaige à l'antour d'elle à seix et à sept brassez. Cestedite ille est la milleure terre que nous ayons veu, car vng arpant¹² d'icelle terre vault mielx que toute la Terre Neufve.

^h The writing in the MS. changes here and was evidently done by another hand as far as p. 59.

fringed with sand-banks, and there is excellent bottom and anchorage all around it in six and seven fathoms. This island is the best land we have seen; for two acres¹² of it are worth more than the whole of Newfoundland. We found it to be covered with fine trees and meadows, fields of wild oats, and of pease in flower, as thick and as fine as ever I saw in Brittany, which might have been sown by husbandmen. There are numerous gooseberry bushes, strawberry vines, Provins¹³ roses, as well as parsley and other useful, strong-smelling herbs¹⁴. Round about this island are

miles E. $\frac{3}{4}$ S. from North Bird rock. It is given on the Harleian mappemonde and on the Desceliers maps. Cf. Bayfield, *op. cit.*, I, 39: "Bryon island is rather more than four miles long, in a W. by N. and E. by S. direction, with the extreme breadth of rather more than one mile . . . The soil is similar to that of Magdalens islands. A great part of the island is wooded with dwarf spruce trees, and there is a large upland tract covered with good native grass."

¹² The *arpent* fluctuated between three roods and two acres.

¹³ A small town in the department of Seine-et-Marne, fifty-nine miles south-east of Paris. The rose is a small red variety which when brought into England by Edmund Crouchback, became the badge of the great House of Lancaster.

¹⁴ Cf. Leigh's account in Hakluyt, *op. cit.*, III, 201: "Concerning the nature and fruitfulness of Brions Island, and of Ramea [the Magdalens], they do by nature yeeld exceeding plenty of wood, great store of wild corne like barley, strawberries, gooseberries, mulberries, white roses, & store of wilde peason . . . And the sayd Islands also seeme to proffer, through the labour of man, plenty of all kinde of our graine, of roots, of hempe, and other necessary commodities." Vid. also the *Transactions of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec*, III, 161, Quebec, 1832. This island, though only of sand-stone and now fast giving way to the action of the waves, must yet have appeared extremely fertile in comparison with the bleak rock-bound coasts of Newfoundland and Labrador.

Nous la trouvames plaine de beaulx arbres, prairies, champs de blé sauvage, et de poys en fleurs, aussi espès et aussi beaulx, que je vis oncques en Bretagne, queulx sembloict y avoir esté semé (r) par laboureux. Il y a force grouaiseliers, frassiers et rossez de Provins¹³, persil, et aultres bonnes herbes, de grant odeur¹⁴. Il luy a entour icelle ille, plusieurs grandes bestez, conme grans beuffz¹⁵, quelles ont deux dans en la gueulle, conme dans d'olifant, qui vont en la mer. De quelles, y en avoict vne, qui dormoict à terre, à la rive de l'eau, et allames o nos barques, pour la cuydez prandre; mais incontinant que fumes auprès d'elle, elle se gecta en la mer¹⁶. Nous y vimes paroillement des ours et des renars. Cette ille fut nommée *l'ille de Bryon*¹⁷. Auxs environ d'icelles illes, y a de grandes marées, qui portent conme suest et nor-

many great beasts, like large oxen¹⁵, which have two tusks in their jaw like elephant's tusks and swim about in the water. There was one asleep on shore near the water's edge, and we set out in our long-boats to try and catch him; but as soon as we drew near, he threw himself into the sea¹⁶. We also saw there bears and foxes. This island was named Brion island¹⁷. In the neighbourhood of these islands the tides are strong and run to all appearance south-east and north-west. I am rather inclined to think from what I have seen that there is a passage between

¹⁵ Walruses.

¹⁶ Cf. Leigh in Hakluyt, *op. cit.*, III, 195: "And upon the lesse of these Islands of Birds, we saw great store of Morsses or sea Oxen, which were asleepe upon the rockes; but when we approached nere unto them with our boate they cast themselves into the sea and pursued us with such furie as that we were glad to flee from them;" and *ibid.*, pp. 190-191 and 201. Cf. also Appendix III, p. 304.

¹⁷ Cf. Belleforest, *op. cit.*, vol. II, col. 2181: "& fut nommee cette Isle de Brion en l'honneur, & memoire de feu tresillustre Seigneur Messire Philippes Chabot Comte de Burensais, & de Chargny, Seigneur de Brion, & Admiral de France, lequel fut auteur, & solliciteur de ce voiage, comme lieutenant general pour le Roy sur la marine: & pour recognoistre cette faveur, Cartier donna a ce lieu si plaisant, le nom d'un des plus braves, & vertueux chevaliers de son temps, a fin qu'à jamais on voit combien ce Seigneur a esté soigneux de la gloire, & avancement du nom François, & du service de son Prince." He had succeeded Bonnivet as Admiral of France in 1525 and on March 23, 1527 (n. st) was also made Admiral of Brittany. *Vid. Archives du département de la Loire-Inférieure*, série B, reg. 51, fols 284-285.

ouaist. Je presume mielx que aultrement, à ce que j'ay veu, qu'il luy aict aulcun passage entre la Terre Neuffve et la terre des Bretons¹⁸. Sy ainsi estoict, se seroict vne grande abreviacion, tant pour le temps, que pour le chemyn, si se treuve perfection en ce voyage¹⁹. | A quatre lieues de ladite ille, [il luy a la terre 59^r ferme à ouaist surouaist, la quelle paroît comme vne isle, avironnée d'isles de sablons^{i 20}.] Il luy a vng beau cap, que nommames *cap du*

ⁱ From Ramusio who has: *A quattro leghe di detta Isola vi è la terra ferma verso Ponente garbin, la quale pare que sia come una Isola circondata da Isolette di sabbioni. Vi è un bel Capo*, etc.

Newfoundland and the Breton's land¹⁸. If this were so, it would prove a great saving both in time and distance, should any success be met with on this voyage¹⁹. Four leagues from the said [Brion] island to the west-south-west lies the mainland [the Magdalen islands], which has the appearance of an island surrounded by islets of sand²⁰. On it stands a fine cape which we named cape

¹⁸ Ramusio has: *tierra di Brion* which was doubtless the original reading, but was altered after Cartier had visited Cape Breton on his way home in 1536 (*Vid.* p. 236). Lescarbot (*op. cit.*, 1609, 264) has added in the margin: "Ce passage est aujourd'hui ordinaire, & y a 20 lieues de mer entre l'une & l'autre terre." The distance from Cape Breton island to Newfoundland is fifty-five miles. This statement makes clear that although Cape Breton itself was well known, no attempt had yet been made by the French to sail into the Gulf through Cabot strait, as the passage between Newfoundland and Cape Breton island is now called. *Cf.* Harrisse, *op. cit.*, 137.

¹⁹ That is to say, should they discover a new route to the East, the passage to the south of Newfoundland would prove both shorter and quicker than the one through the strait of Belle Isle by which they had come. *Cf.* Lescarbot, *op. cit.*, 1617, p. 243: "La perfection que cherche Jacques Quartier est de trouver un passage pour aller par là en Orient;" and also p. 46 *infra* note 14.

²⁰ Cartographical representations of this statement are seen on the Roze map (plate V, p. 64) and the Harleian mappemonde (plate VIII, p. 128) where the Magdalen islands (the coast in question), lying about ten miles south of Brion island, are represented as forming the main south shore of the gulf of St. Lawrence. It was not until Cartier was on his way home in 1536 that he discovered that the Magdalens were really islands and not mainland (*Vid.* p. 236 *infra*). On the Desliens map and on the Desceliers planisphere (plate XIV, p. 224) they are called *ysles des Arenes*. Jean Alfonse calls them (Appendix II, p. 301) *l'isle de Sable* while they figure on the Diogo Homen map as *ille des Sablones*. As a result of the discovery in 1536 the above phrase was naturally erased. *Cf.* also W. F. Ganong in the *Transactions of the Royal Society*, 1st ser., XII, ii, 44-45; and John M. Clarke, *Observations*, etc., 4-11.

*Dauphin*²¹, pour ce que c'est le conmanement des bonnes terres²².

Le XXVII^e dudit moys de juin, nous rangeames ladite terre, qui gist est nordest et ouaist surouaist, et semble de loing que se soinct butterolles de sables, pour ce que se sont terres basses et araineusses²³. Nous ne pumes allez ny dessandre à icelles, pour ce que le vent en venoict²⁴, et les rangeames celluy jour environ quinze lieues²⁵.

Dauphin²¹, as it is the beginning of the good land²².

On [Saturday] the twenty-seventh of the said month of June, we ranged this coast, which runs east-north-east and west-south-west. From a distance it looks as if there were dunes, as the shores are low and sandy²³. We could not approach nor land there as the wind came off the shore²⁴. We ranged it that day about fifteen leagues²⁵.

²¹ North cape on Grosse island of the Madgalen group, lying eight and three quarter miles from the south-west corner of Brion island. Cf. Clarke, *op. cit.* plate 9. The old name is given on the Harleian mappemonde, plate VIII, p. 128. The Dauphin was then Prince Francis who died suddenly on August 10, 1536.

²² Cf. Bayfield, *op. cit.*, I, 42: "In a bright sunny day of summer, the cliffs of various colours, in which different shades of red predominate, and the yellow of the sandbars contrasted with the green pastures of the hill sides, produce an extremely beautiful effect." Cf. the beautiful plates 1 and 4 in Clarke, *op. cit. loc. cit.*

²³ Cf. Bayfield, *op. cit.*, I, 41: "When first sighted from sea, the Madgalen islands appear like several hilly islands, with channels between, but, on a nearer approach, they are seen to be all connected together . . . by a double line of sandbars and beaches, inclosing extensive lagoons . . . These sandbars are in some parts only a few feet above the sea, whilst in others they rise into hills of blown sand of considerable elevation."

²⁴ The wind was probably therefore south. The distance from Great Bird rock to Deadman islet is fifty-six miles.

²⁵ Bayfield (*ibid.*, 53-54) gives the following description of the north-west coast of the group, that seen by Cartier, but proceeding in the inverse direction: "From Hospital cape to Wolf island . . . the coast . . . consists merely of sand-beaches and sand-hills, for a distance of ten miles. The low sandstone cliffs of Wolf island, which is about three-quarters of a mile long, interrupt the continuance of the sandy shore; the sand-beaches then recommence, and continue with high sand-hills, occasionally, nine miles further to North cape."

[DE L'ISLE NOMMÉE ALLEZAY¹, ET DU CAP
SAINT PIERRE^a.]

Le landemain², rangeames icelle terre³, environ x lieues, jusques à vng cap de terre rouge⁴, qui est vng cap rongné, au dedans duquel y a vne ancze⁵, qui s'abat au nort, et poys sonme. Il luy a vng sillon de perroy, qui est entre la mer et vng estanc⁶. D'icelluy cap de terre et estanc à vng aultre cap de terre⁷, y a environ quatre^b lieues. Ce faict la terre en demy cercle, et tout

^a The Italian reads: *Dell' Isola chiamata Alezai, & capo San Pietro.*

^b Ramusio has, 14. *leghe.*

OF THE ISLAND NAMED WEDGE ISLAND¹ AND
OF CAPE ST. PETER.

On the morrow² we followed that coast³ about ten leagues, as far as a reddish head-land⁴, that is eaten away and in behind which there is a shallow cove, running north⁵. A ridge of gravel stretches along between the sea and a lagoon⁶. From this [Hospital] cape and lagoon to another head-land⁷ the distance is four

¹ The word *Allezay* seems to be derived from the verb *alaisier* or *élaiser* meaning "to hammer out the edges on an anvil." This represents exactly the appearance of Deadman islet. *Vid.* Admiralty Chart No. 1134.

² Sunday, June 28.

³ Wolf island of the Magdalen group. The distance from North cape to Hospital cape is twenty miles.

⁴ Hospital cape on Grindstone island of which "the northern shore is of red sand-stone cliffs," says Bayfield (*op. cit.*, I, 52). Mr. James Richardson in his *Report on the Magdalens (Geological Survey of Canada for 1880-81, 5-83. Montreal, 1881)*, mentions that red sandstones form the whole of the cliffs, from twenty to one hundred feet high, from Etang du Nord to Hospital cape. *Cf.* also the *Transactions of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec*, I, (Quebec, 1829), 44: "The Magdalen islands produce a red earth which is brought to Quebec in lumps . . . It is a very deep red, quite as deep as can be required for any purpose in painting."

⁵ *Etang du Nord* at Grindstone island. "A small inlet, affording good shelter to boats," says Bayfield (*op. cit.*, I, 52).

⁶ This was probably House harbour between Wolf, Grindstone and Alright islands.

⁷ Southwest cape on Amherst island, which rises to a height of 300 feet. The distance to North cape is thirty miles.

rangé de sablons, faictz comme vng fossé; par sur lequel et outre yceluy, y a comme manière de marestz et estancqz, tant comme l'on peult voirs⁸. Et auparavant arivez au premier cap⁹, y a deux petittez illes, assez près de terre¹⁰. Et à cinq lieues dudit second cap¹¹, y a vne ille au surouaist, qui est moult haulte et pointue, qui par nous fut nommée *Allezay*¹². Le premier cap⁹ fut nommé *le cap saint Pierre*, pour ce que le jour dudit saint¹³ y arivames.

leagues. The shore runs in the form of a semi-circle, and is skirted all along with sand-hills and ditches, over the tops of and beyond which there appear to be lagoons and standing-pools, as far as the eye can reach⁸. And before one reaches the first cape⁹ there are two small islands, fairly close in shore¹⁰. Five leagues southwest from the second cape¹¹, lies a very high pointed island¹², which was named by us Wedge island. The first cape⁹ was named cape St. Peter, as we reached it on that saint's day¹³.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 47: "Amherst island, the largest and south-westernmost of Magdalen islands is connected with Grindstone island by a double line of sand-bars, inclosing an extensive lagoon, seven miles and a quarter long, and from one to three miles wide, the southern part of which is named Basque harbour. This lagoon is full of sands, which are dry at low water."

⁹ Hospital cape.

¹⁰ Hospital rock and Gull island or possibly Pierre de Gros Cap and White Horse shoals farther off shore, both near Grindstone island and which then no doubt contained upland. These islands alone would identify this cape as being on Grindstone island.

¹¹ Southwest cape on Amherst island.

¹² Deadman islet lying seven miles and three quarters N.W. $\frac{1}{2}$ W. from West cape. The compass variation here is now 25° 55' W. Cf. Bayfield, *op. cit.*, I, 51: "Deadman islet . . . is about 170 feet high, with steeply sloping sides, meeting at the summit like a prism, so that when seen end on, it resembles a pyramid." Cf. Dawson, *op. cit.*, 138-139, and Harris, *op. cit.*, plate XVI; and plates VIII and XIV, pp. 128 and 224. Thomas Moore in 1804 wrote some verses "On Passing Deadman's Island." *Vid.* his *Poetical Works*, II, 337-38, London, 1852.

¹³ Monday, June 29. Cf. Belleforest, *op. cit.*, vol. II, col. 2181: "& le Cap saint Pierre, ainsi nommé pour ce que au moys de Juing, & le iour dedié a ce glorieux Prince des Apostres & de toute l'Eglise, cette terre fut decouverte."

[DU CAP APPELLÉ CAP D'ORLEANS; DE LA RIVIÈRE DES BARQUES; DU CAP DE SAUVAIGE; ET DE LA QUALITÉ ET TEMPERATURE DE CE PAYS ^a.]

Dempuix ladite ille de Bryon jusques audit lieu, | y a beau ⁵⁹ fons de sablon, et certaine sonde, qui asoumist conme l'on aproche de terre, egallement ¹. A cinq lieues de terre, y a vint cinq brasses, et à vne lieue, doze brassez; bort à terre, [environ] seix brassez, [plustost plus que moins^b;] et partout beau fons. Et pour ce que voullions abvoir plus emple congnoissance dudit parroige, mismes les voilles bas et en travers.

^a The Italian reads: *Del Capo detto d'Orleans, del fiume delle barche, del Capo de Salvatichi, & della qualita & temperatura di quel paese.*

^b From Ramusio who has: *da sei piu tosto piu che manco.*

OF THE CAPE CALLED CAPE ORLEANS, OF CANOE RIVER AND INDIAN CAPE; AND OF THE NATURE AND TEMPERATURE OF THIS COUNTRY.

From Brion island to this place there is fine sandy bottom and an even depth which gradually grows less as one approaches the shore ¹. Five leagues from land there are twenty-five fathoms and one league out twelve fathoms; close in shore about six fathoms, rather more than less, and everywhere good bottom. And as we wished to make a fuller examination of this region, we lowered the sails and lay to.

And the next day, the last but one of the said month ², the wind came south, one quarter south-west, and we sailed west until sunrise on Tuesday, the last day of the said month, without seeing any land, except that in the evening ² at sunset, we caught sight of land in appearance like two islands, which lay some nine or ten leagues to the west-south-west of us ³. And we made that day until sunrise the next morning ⁴ about forty leagues in a

¹ The greatest depth between Brion Island and the Magdalens is only fourteen fathoms. *Vid.* Clarke, *op. cit.*, plate 2. ² Monday, June 29.

³ Ramusio has: *che ci restava drieto di noi verso Ponente & Garbin.* This was probably the high land on Prince Edward Island near Grenville, between Charlottetown and Prince Town or possibly the capes Turner, 120, and Tryon 110 feet high respectively. Cf. Ganong's paper in *Transactions of the Royal Society*, 1st ser. V, ii, 129, 1888.

⁴ Tuesday, June 30.

Et le landemain, peneultime jour dudit moys², le vent vint au su, vng cart du surouaist, et fismes couriz [à l'ouaist^c,] jusques au mardi, derroin jour dudit moys, sollail à l'est, sans avoir congnoissance d'aulcune terre, fors que le soir², sollail reconsant, nous vysmes terre aparoissante comme deux illes, qui nous demeu-roict³ à ouaist surouaist, environ ix ou x lieues. Et celuy jour fismes à ouaist jusques au landemain⁴, sollail à l'est, environ quarante lieues. Et faisant chemyn, eusmes la congnoissance de ladite terre, qui nous avoit aparut comme deux illes, qui estoit terre ferme⁵, qui gissoit su-suest et nort norouaist, jusques à vng cap de terre, moult beau, nommé *cap d'Orleans*⁶.

Toute ycelle terre est basse et vnye, la plus belle qu'i soict possible de voir, et plaine de beaulx arbres et prairies; mais en

^c From Ramusio who has: *ce n'andamo verso ponente*.

westerly direction. And pursuing our course we came in sight of what had looked to us like two islands, which was mainland⁵, that ran south-south-east and north-north-west as far as a very fine headland, named by us cape Orleans⁶.

All this coast is low and flat but the finest land one can see, and full of beautiful trees and meadows. Yet we could find along it no harbour; for the shore is low and skirted all along with sand-

⁵ Prince Edward Island. It was not known to be an island until after 1600 A.D. Cf. Ganong, *Transactions of the Royal Society*, 1st ser. VII, ii, 20: "Forty leagues magnetic west would take him to Prince Edward island."

⁶ Cape Kildare. According to Bayfield (*op. cit.*, II, 181) cape Kildare is "a cliff of red sandstone 30 feet high, with the land about it red and surmounted by clumps of trees." Cf. Belleforest, *op. cit.*, II, 2181-2182: "& donnerent nom à ce Promontoire Cap d'Orleans, en memoire de ce trespuissant, tresillustre, & vaillant Prince Charles Duc d'Orleans, & puisné des enfans du grand Roy François premier de ce nom, ne voulant Cartier, que le pays par luy descouvert fut sans avoir le nom de ses Princes." He was the third son of Francis I, and died on September 8, 1545. The name is given on Mercator's map where the cape is also called *C. de Santiago*. On the Harleian and Desce-liers mappemondes it is called *c. d'Angoulesme* another title of Prince Charles. Cf. Thevet, *Cosmographie universelle*, II, 1010^v-1011^v: "assez pres du Promon-toire que lon dit d'Angoulesme . . . nommé à l'honneur d'un des feux enfans de France, fils du grand Roy François, Duc d'icelle ville;" and also *ibid.*, 1009^v.

icelle ne peumes trouvez hable, pour ce que c'est basse terre, et poys sonme, et toute rangée de sables⁷. Nous y fumes en plusieurs lieulx o nos barques; et entre les aultres, dedans vne belle ripvière, de peu de fons, où vysmes des barques de sauvaiges, | qui traversoinct ladite ripvière, qui, pour ce, fut nommée *ripvière* 60' *de Barques*⁸. Et n'eumes aultre congnoissance d'eulx, pour ce que le vent vint de la mer, qui chargeoict alla coste, et nous convint retires o nosdites barques à nos navires⁹. Et fysmes couriz au nordest, jusques au landemain, sollail à l'est, premier jour de juillet, alla quelle heure vingt brumes et serraizon, et mysmes les voylles bas, jusques envyron dix heures, qu'il esclardit; et eumes congnoissance dudit cap d'Orleans¹⁰, et d'un aultre, qui en demeu-roict environ sept lieues au nort, vng cart du nordest, qui fut

banks, and the water is shallow⁷. We went ashore in our long-boats at several places, and among others at a fine river of little depth, where we caught sight of some Indians in their canoes who were crossing the river. On that account we named this river Canoe river⁸. But we had no further acquaintance with the savages as the wind came up off the sea, and drove upon the shore, so that we deemed it advisable to go back with our long-boats to

⁷ Cf. Bayfield, *op. cit.*, II, 181: "The shallow water extends to the same distance (1½ miles) off cape Kildare . . . and, generally, it must be borne in mind that there are rocky and irregular soundings, between three and five fathoms, all along this part of the coast, frequently extending nearly two miles off shore."

⁸ Cascumpeque bay, a shallow opening five miles south of cape Kildare. A number of small rivers flow into this bay. It is represented on the Desceliers mappemonde and on Mercator's map. The wind being south they could hardly have made Malpeque bay. *Vid.* Bayfield, *op. cit.*, II, 184. The word is of Micmac origin and means "a bold sandy shore." Lescarbot, *op. cit.*, 1609, pp. 266-267 has added: "Or faut noter que ces barques ne sont autre chose que les Canots des sauvages faits d'écorces d'arbres." Cf. J. Pope, *op. cit.*, p. 46, note 18: "Some 30 years ago, a number of Indian relics, supposed to be of (relatively) great antiquity, were dug up near the head of Kildare River. They consisted of stone axes, arrow heads, spear points, and the like. Coming into possession of the writer's father, they were by him presented to . . . some institution in London." Kildare river flows into Cascumpeque bay.

nommé *le cap de Sauvage*¹¹. Au nordest duquel, environ demye lieue, y a vng hessier et bancq de pierres, fort dangereux¹². A celuy cap nous vint vng homme^d, qui couroict après nos barques, le long de la coste, qui nous fessoict pluseurs signes, que nous retournissions vers ledit cap¹³. Et nous, voyans telz signes, conmanzames à nages vers luy; et luy, voyant que retournions, commencza à fuir, et à s'en couriz davant nous. Nous dessandimes à terre davant luy, et luy mysme vng cousteau et vne sainture de laine sur vne verge; et puis nous en allames à nos navires. Celuy jour¹⁴, rangeames ladite terre¹⁵ neuff ou dix

^d Although written thus, this word according to Jean Palsgrave (*L'Éclaircissement de la langue française*, p. 7, Paris, 1852, in 4^o) was then pronounced *houme*.

the ships⁹. We headed north-east until the next morning [Wednesday], the first day of July, at sunrise, at which hour came up fog with overcast sky, and we lowered the sails until about ten o'clock, when it brightened up and we had sight of cape Orleans¹⁰ and of another cape that lay about seven leagues north, one quarter north-east of it, which we named Indian cape¹¹. To the north-east of this cape, for about half a league, there is a very dangerous shoal and rocky bar¹². At this cape a man came in sight who ran after our long-boats along the coast, making frequent signs to us to return towards the said [Indian] point¹³. And seeing these signs we began to row towards him, but when he saw that we were returning, he started to run away and to flee before us. We landed opposite to him and placed a knife and a woollen girdle on a branch; and then returned to our ships. That day¹⁴ we coasted this

⁹ Cf. Bayfield, *op. cit.*, II, 132: "The northern shore [of Prince Edward Island] forms a great bay, 91 miles wide and 22 miles deep, out of which the set of the tides and the heavy sea render it very difficult to extricate a ship when caught in the north-east gales."

¹⁰ Cape Kildare.

¹¹ North point, the north-western extremity of Prince Edward Island. It is eleven miles north of cape Kildare.

¹² *Ibid.*, II, 133: "North point . . . has a reef extending from it to the northward and eastward one mile and a quarter to the depth of three fathoms, and nearly two miles to five fathoms."

¹³ North point.

¹⁴ Wednesday, July 1.

lieues, pour cuydez trouvez hable; ce que ne peumes¹⁶; car, comme j'ay cy davant dit, c'est terre basse et sonne¹⁷. Nous y dessandimes celuy jour en quatre liex¹⁸, pour voir les arbres, queulx sont merueilleusement | beaulx, et de grande odeur, et 607
trouvames, que c'estoint cèdres, iffz, pins, ormes blans, frainnes, sauldres et aultres, pluseurs à nous incongneuz, touz arbres sans fruitz. Les terres où il n'y a bouays, sont fort belles, et toutez plaines de poys, grouaiseliers, blans et rouges, frasses, franboysses, et blé sauviage, corne seille, quel il semble y abvoir esté semé et labouré. C'est terre de la meilleure temperance qu'i soict possible de voir, et de grande chaleur; et y a plusieurs teurtres et ramyers et aultres ouaiseaulx. Il n'y a faulte que de hables.

shore¹⁵ some nine or ten leagues to try and find a harbour, but could not do so¹⁶; for, as I have already mentioned, the shore is low and the water shallow¹⁷. We landed that day in four places¹⁸ to see the trees which are wonderfully beautiful and very fragrant. We discovered that there were cedars, yew-trees, pines, white elms, ash trees, willows and others, many of them unknown to us and all trees without fruit. The soil where there are no trees is also very rich and is covered with pease, white and red gooseberry bushes, strawberries, rapsberries and wild oats like rye, which one would say had been sown there and tilled. It is the best-tempered region one can possibly see and the heat is considerable. There are many turtle-doves, wood-pigeons and other birds. Nothing is wanting but harbours.

¹⁵ The west coast of Prince Edward Island down which they were evidently proceeding.

¹⁶ There is no opening on the coast of Prince Edward Island from Tignish river, just north of cape Kildare, all the way round to Egmont bay in Northumberland strait on the south coast.

¹⁷ Cf. Bayfield, *op. cit.*, II, 133: "The shallow-water runs out to considerable distances off various parts of this coast."

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, *loc. cit.*: "The west coast of Prince Edward island, from the north to the west point (a distance of 33 miles S.W. by W.) is unbroken, and formed of red clay and sandstone cliffs, with intervening sandy beaches affording landing for boats in fine weather."

[DE LA BAYE NOMMÉE SAINT LUNAIRE, ET
AUTRES NOTABLES BAYES ET CAPS DE TERRE;
ET DE LA QUALITÉ ET BONTÉ DE CES TERRES^a.]

Le landemain, second jour de juillet, nous apersumes la terre au nort de nous¹, qui tenoict o celle de davant toute rangée, et congneumes que c'estoict vne baye, qui a environ vignt lieues de parfont et autant de traversée². Nous la nonmasmes *la baye saint Lunaire*³. Nous fumes au cap de dever^s le nort o nos barc-

^a The Italian reads: *Del Golfo chiamato Santo Lunario, & altri Golfi notabili & Capi di terra, & della qualità & bontà di quei terreni.*

OF THE BAY CALLED ST. LEONORE'S BAY AND
OF OTHER NOTABLE BAYS AND CAPES; AND OF
THE NATURE AND RICHNESS OF THESE LANDS.

On the following day [Thursday], the second of July, we caught sight of the coast to the north of us¹ which joined that already explored, and we saw that this [mouth of Northumberland strait] was a bay about twenty leagues deep and as many in width². We named it St. Leonore's bay³. We went in our long-boats to the cape on the north and found the water so shallow that at the distance of more than a league from shore there was a depth of only one fathom⁴. Some seven or eight leagues to the north-east of this

¹ That is to say, on catching sight of Escuminac Point, the northern extremity of Kouchibouguac bay on the New Brunswick coast, they thought this western mouth of Northumberland strait must be a bay.

² Cf. Prof. W. F. Ganong's paper in *Transactions of the Royal Society*, 1st ser., V, ii, 131: "From any position whatever in the head of the strait [of Northumberland], he [Cartier] would seem landlocked to the south, the bay appearing merely to extend a little deeper in that direction."

³ After a Breton bishop of the sixth century whose festival fell on the first of July. It is so named on the Diogo Homem and Mercator maps; but on the Desliens map and on the Desceliers mappemonde and planisphere it is called *baye de Ste. Marie* as the second of July was the festival of the Visitation of the Virgin. Another example of double naming was the island of Orleans, also called Isle of Bacchus. *Vid.* pp. 126 and 232 *infra*.

⁴ Escuminac point at the north-west corner of the mouth of Northumberland strait. It also forms the south-eastern extremity of Miramichi bay. On the Desceliers mappemonde (plate XII, p. 192) it is called *c. Somme*. Cf. Bayfield, *op. cit.*, II, 62: "Escuminac reef extends two miles out to the N.E. to the three-fathoms mark and two miles and three quarters to five fathoms at low water."

ques, et trouvames le pays si sonme, que, à plus de vne lieue de terre, ne y abvoict que vne brasse d'eau⁴. Au nordest dudit cap, environ sept ou ouict lieues, nous demeuroict vng aultre cap de terre⁵, et entre les deux y a vne baye⁶, en manière de triangle, qui estoict moult parfonde, dont le plus loign que pussion voirs d'icelle, nous demeuroict au nordest⁷; et estoict toute rangée de sablons et pays sonme⁸. A dix lieues loign de terre, y a vngt brasses de parfont^b. Dempuix ledit derrenier | cap⁵ jusques 61^r

^b Ramusio has a different reading and punctuation: *& luoghi bassi per dieci leghe da terra: non vi è piu di duo braccia di fondo*, etc.

cape [Escuminac point], lay another cape⁵, and between the two there is a bay⁶, in the form of a triangle, which ran back a long way; and so far as we could see the longest arm stretched north-east⁷. This [Miramichi] bay was everywhere skirted with sand-banks and the water was shallow⁸. Ten leagues from shore the depth was twenty fathoms. From the last-mentioned cape⁵ to the said [?] point and headland the distance is fifteen leagues⁹. And when we were opposite to this cape¹⁰ we had sight of more land and a cape¹¹ which lay to the north of us, one quarter north-east in full view. During the night [Thursday-Friday, July 2-3] the weather turned bad with much wind; and we deemed it advisable to lie to until the morning of [Friday], the third day of

⁵ Blackland point, the north-eastern extremity of Miramichi bay.

⁶ Miramichi bay.

⁷ Looking into Miramichi river between Portage and Fox islands and allowing for the compass variation, this direction would be correct.

⁸ Miramichi bay is very shallow and is full of sand-bars. Cf. Bayfield, *op. cit.*, II, 58: "Miramichi bay is nearly 14 miles wide from the sand bars off Blackland point to Escuminac point, and six miles and a half deep from that line across its mouth to the main entrance of the Miramichi [river] between Portage and Fox islands." *Vid.* Admiralty chart No. 2187.

⁹ The redactor seems to have omitted several sentences here; for there is no previous mention of this *dit bout et cap de terre*. The distance given corresponds to that between Blackland point and North point on Miscou island, at the mouth of Chaleur bay, i.e. forty-four and a half miles.

¹⁰ North point on Miscou island. Cf. Bayfield, *op. cit.*, II, 50-51: "The north point [of Miscou island] is distinguished by a green mound or grassy sand-hill." The rest is low and sandy.

¹¹ *Cap d'Espoir* on the north side of the mouth of Chaleur bay, near Percé Mountain which is 1,230 feet high.

audit bout et cap de terre, y a quinze lieues⁹. Et nous estans le travers dudit cap¹⁰, apersumes aultres terres et cap¹¹, qui nous demeuroict au nort, vng cart du nordest, tout alla veue. La nuyt, fist mauvais temps et grant vent; et nous convint meptre alla cappe, jusques au matin, tier jour de juillet, que le vent vint à ouaist; et fysmes porter sur le nort, pour avoir la congnoissance de ladite terre, qui estoit vne haulte terre, qui nous demeuroict au nort nordest, par sur les bassez terres¹². Entre lesquelles basses terres et les haultez, y abvoict vne grande baye et ouverture¹³, où il luy abvoict cinquante et cinq brassez de parfont, par aucuns lieux, et large de envyron quinze lieues. Et pour ladite parfondeur et laisse et changement de terres, eumes espoir de y trouvés le passage, conme il luy a au passage des Chasteaulx¹⁴. Icelle baye gist est nordest et ouaist surouaist. Et est la terre de devers le su de ladite baye aussi belle et bonne terre, labourable, et plaine de aussi belles champaignes et prairies que nous ayons

July, when the wind came west; and we headed north in order to examine this coast, which was a high land lying to the north-north-east of us beyond the low shores¹². Between these low shores and the high lands was a large bay and opening, with a depth in some places of fifty-five fathoms and a width of about fifteen leagues¹³. On account of this depth and width and of the alteration in the coast-line, we had hopes of discovering here a strait like the one at the strait of Castles¹⁴. This [Chaleur] bay runs east-north-east and west-south-west. The land along the south side of it is as fine and as good land, as arable and as full of beautiful fields and meadows, as any we have ever seen; and it is

¹² Miscou island is low and sandy so that they would easily see over the top of it the high shore on the north side of Chaleur bay.

¹³ *Baie de Chaleur* or Chaleur bay, the mouth of which is twenty-five miles wide from North point on Miscou island to cap d'Espoir.

¹⁴ That is to say they hoped to find here a passage similar to the strait of Belle Isle. It should constantly be borne in mind that there then seemed no reason why they should not discover in the north a passage similar to the one discovered thirteen years previously by Magellan in the south. Cf. Lescarbot, *op. cit.*, edit. of 1617, p. 243 and p. 9 *supra*.

veu, et vnye conme vng estancq¹⁵. Et celle devers le nort est vne terre haulte à montaignes¹⁶, toute plaine de arbres de haulte fustaille, de pluseurs sortez; et entre aultres, y a pluseurs cèdres et pruches, aussi beaulx qu'il soict possible de voir, pour faire mastz, suffissans de mastez navires de troys cens tonneaulx et plus; en la | quelle ne vysmes vng seul lieu vyde de bouays, fors ^{61v} en deux lieulx de basses terres, où il luy abvoit des prairies et des estancq^c moult beaulx. Le parmy de ladite baye est en quarante sept degrés et demy de latitude, et lxxiiij degrés de longitude¹⁷.

^c Ramusio has: *duoi laghi*.

as level as the surface of a pond¹⁵. And that on the north side is a high mountainous shore¹⁶, completely covered with many kinds of lofty trees; and among others are many cedars and spruce trees, as excellent for making masts for ships of 300 tons and more, as it is possible to find. On this [north] shore we did not see a single spot clear of timber, except in two places near the water's edge, where there were meadows and very pretty ponds. The middle of this bay lies in latitude 47° 30' and in longitude 73°¹⁷.

¹⁵ Bayfield, *op. cit.*, II, 20: "The southern or New Brunswick shore is, generally speaking, much lower [than the northern shore]." On the Desceliers mappemonde this coast is called *terre de Michalman*, while his planisphere of 1550 and a Portuguese map of the same date have *Machermay*. The Desliens map has *Mercheymay* and the Homem map *Micheomai*. For a possible explanation *vid.* Prof. Ganong's paper in *Transactions of the Royal Society*, 1st ser., VII, ii, 54-55.

¹⁶ Bayfield, *op. cit. loc. cit.*: "The northern shore of the bay [of Chaleur] is of moderate height, but an irregular range of hills, of considerable elevation, is everywhere visible a few miles back from the coast."

¹⁷ The longitude extends from 67° to 68° 45' west of Paris. It would be still less of course from St. Malo and even less still from the island of Ferro in the Canaries, from which the longitude was generally reckoned. Cf. Crignon's *Discorso d'un Gran Capitano di mare Francese* in Ramusio, *op. cit.*, III, fol. 423: "La longitudine secondo li cosmographi comincia dal meridiano dell' isole canarie sotto la linea dell' equinottionale," etc. The latitude of Chaleur bay is about 48° 10'. Cf. also Appendix II, p. 278, note 2.

[DU CAP D'ESPERANCE, ET DE LA CONCHE SAINT MARTIN; ET COMMENT SEPT BARCQUES D'HOMMES SAUVAIGES S'APPROCHÈRENT DE NOSTRE BARCQUE, ET NE SE VOULLANS RETIRER, FURENT ESTONNEZ PAR DEUX PASSEVOLLANS ET LANSES À FEU; ET COMME ILS S'ENFUIRENT À GRANDE HASTE ^a.]

Le cap de ladite terre du su fut nommé *cap d'Esperance*, pour l'espoir que abvions de y trouvés passaige¹. Et le quart jour dudit moys, jour saint Martin^b, rangeames ladite terre du nort pour trouvés hable, et entranmes en vne petite baye² et conche

^a The Italian reads: *Del Capo di Speranza, & della Staria di S. Martino. & come sette barche d'huomini salvaticchi andati alla nostra barcha, non volendo ritirarsi, spaventati dal tirar de passavolanti & di lancie fuggirono con gran fretta.*

^b These three words, which are not in Ramusio, have been inserted in the MS. above the line.

OF HOPE CAPE AND ST. MARTIN'S COVE; AND
HOW SEVEN CANOES OF SAVAGES APPROACHED
OUR LONG-BOAT AND REFUSING TO WITHDRAW
WERE FRIGHTENED OFF BY TWO SMALL CANNON
AND SOME FIRE-LANCES; AND HOW THEY FLED
IN GREAT HASTE.

The cape on the south shore was named Hope cape for the hope we had of finding here a strait¹. And on [Saturday] the fourth of the said month [of July], being St. Martin's day, we coasted along the north shore [of Chaleur bay] in order to find a harbour, and entered a small bay and cove² completely open to the south, with no shelter from that wind. We named it St.

¹ North point on Miscou island. The old name is given on the Mercator map. On the Harleian and Desceliers mappemondes it is called *c. d'Espoir*. Cf. Belleforest, *op. cit.*, tom. II, col. 2182: "Après cettuy [goulphe saint Lunaire] est le Cap d'Esperance, portant ce nom pour l'espoir qu'eurent les Francoys de trouver le passage pour aller en terre ferme." Cf. p. 46, note 14.

² Port Daniel, seven miles west of Maquereau point on the north side of Chaleur bay. The old name is given on the Harleian and Desceliers mappemondes and on the Mercator map. "A fine bay," says Bayfield, *op. cit.*, II, 23, "open to the eastward, and about one mile and a half wide and deep." The variation of the compass accounts no doubt for the statement in the text that it was open to the south.

Ilz ont des barques en quoy Ilz vont par la mer qui
 sont faites d'eschou de bonay du bonl O quoy Ilz
 peschent force Lompe marine Deuipuis Les anons
 deux Jay son qui la / nist par leur demeneuer et
 quelz venant des terres plus chaudes pour prendre
 d'ortz Lompe marine et autres choses pour leur bre
L'xm^e tour Nous Retournasmes a nos
 barques about pour faire voir pour ce que le temps
 estoit bon. Et L'adymenche / pm^{ie} fismes chanter
 la messe Et L'lundy / pm^{ie} appareillames dudit
 boust et fismes la Route sur la su pour avoir la
 congnissance de la terre que nous y voyons / aparaisant
 admy Hles / mais quant nous fismes au mytan de la baye
 on virent Une congnissance que estoit terre ferme
 dont y avoit gros cap / double Lin L'autre par d'eff
 L'autre Et pour ce la nommas Cap double
 Au parmy de la baye sontz dames a cent buasses et
 fontz enor / Il y a de l'ouaisse de boust audit Cap /
 double / virent vingt Lignes / Et ainsi on fut
 Lignes sontz dames a quarante buasses Une troupe d'ady
 terre estoit grande au nord est et survenoit vng
 quart d'hour et du su
Le Landemay pm^{ie} Dudit moys nous
 sillames Le Long de la Ceste au survenoit vng quart

de terre, toute ouverte devers le su, où il n'y a aulcun abry dudit vant; et la nonmames *la conche saint Martin*. Et fusmes dedans ladite conche dempuix le quart jour jusques au doziesme jour dudit juillet. Et ce temps que nous fusmes en ladite conche, fusmes le lundi seixiesme, après avoir ouy la messe, avecquez vne de nos barques, pour descouvriz vng cap et pointe de terre, qui nous demouroict à sept ou ouict lieues à l'ouaist de nous³, pour voir conme ladite terre se rabatoict. Et nous estans à demye lieue de ladite pointe, apersumes deux bandez de barques de sauvages, qui traversoient de l'vne terre à l'austre, où ilz estoient plus de quarante ou cinquante barques; et dont l'vne desdites bandes de barques arivoict alladite pointe, dont il sautèrent | et dessan- 627
dirent à terre vng grant nombre de gens, queulx fessoient vng grant bruict, et nous fessoient plusieurs signes, que nous allissions à terre, nous montrant des peaulx sur des bastons. Et pour ce que n'avions que vne seulle barque, n'y voullimes allez, et nageames vers l'autre bande, qui estoict alla mer. Et eulx, voyans que nous fuyons, esquipperent deux de leurs plus grandez barques, pour venir après nous, avecques lesquelles se bandèrent cinq aultres, de celles qui venoient de la mer, et vindrent jusques auprès de

Martin's cove. We remained in this cove from [Saturday] the fourth until [Sunday] the twelfth of July. And while there, we set out on Monday the sixth [of July], after hearing mass, in one of our long-boats, to examine a cape and point of land, that lay seven or eight leagues to the west of us³, and to see in which direction the coast ran. And when we were half a league from this point, we caught sight of two fleets of Indian canoes that were crossing from one side [of Chaleur bay] to the other, which numbered in all some forty or fifty canoes. Upon one of the fleets reaching this point, there sprang out and landed a large number of Indians, who set up a great clamour and made frequent signs to us to come on shore, holding up to us some furs on sticks. But as we were only one boat we did not care to go, so we rowed towards

³ Paspebiac point, fourteen and a half miles west of Port Daniel. Bayfield, *op. cit.*, II, 25: "In running along the land from the eastward the low sandy point of Paspebiac . . . will be seen stretching out from the mainland to the southward."

nostredite barcque, dansant et faisant plusieurs signes [de joye, et^c] de voulloir nostre amytié, nous disant en leur langaige: *Napou tou daman asurtat*⁴, et aultres parrolles que n'entendions. Et pour ce que n'avions, conme dit est, que l'vne de nos barcques, ne nous voullymes fiez en leurs signes, et leurs fysmes signes que eulx se retirassent; ce que ne voullirent, mes nagèrent de si grande force, qu'ilz avironnèrent [incontinent^d] nostredite barcque, avecques leurs sept barcques. Et pour ce que, pour signe que nous leurs fissions, ne se voullirent retirez, nous leurs tirames deux

^c These three words are omitted in the MS. Ramusio has: *facendo molti segni d'allegrezza, & di voler*, etc.

^d This word, which is not in the MS., may be due merely to the Italian translator who has written, *che subito ci circondarono la barcha*, etc.

the other fleet which was on the water. And they [on shore], seeing we were rowing away, made ready two of their largest canoes in order to follow us. These were joined by five more of those that were coming in from the sea, and all came after our long-boat, dancing and showing many signs of joy, and of their desire to be friends, saying to us in their language: *Napou tou daman asurtat*⁴, and other words, we did not understand. But for the reason already stated, that we had only one of our long-boats, we did not care to trust to their signs and waved to them to go back, which they would not do but paddled so hard that they soon surrounded our long-boat with their seven canoes. And seeing

⁴ Ramusio has: *Napeu tondamen assurtah*, which Belleforest (*op. cit.*, II, col. 2182) copies and interprets: " nous voulons avoir vostre amitié." Les-carbot adds (*op. cit.*, 1609, p. 271): " Je ne sçay d'où il l'a appris, mais aujourd'huy ilz ne parlent plus ainsi." H. R. Schoolcraft (*American Indians, their History, etc.* Buffalo, 1851, 335, note) concluded these Indians were Algonkins but Father Pacifique, an excellent authority on the Micmac language, interprets these words as follows {
N-apou tou dam-an as-ur-tat
Nit-ap gto- dem na gsa-lol-tôa, meaning in Micmac
Ami, ton semblable t'aimera. Vid. *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Québec*, vol. 16, N° 3, août 1922, 142, note 13.

passevollans parsur eulx⁵. Et lors^e ce mydrent à retournez vers ladite pointe; et fidrent vng bruict merueilleusement grant, après lequel conmanchèrent à retournez vers nous, comme | davant. 62^v Et eulx, estans jouxte nostredite barcque, leur lachames deux lances à feu⁶, qui passèrent parmy eulx, qui les estonna fort, tellement qu'ilz se mydrent alla fuyte, à moult grant haste, et ne nous suyvirent plus.

^e Ramusio has: *per il che spaventati, si misero*, etc.

that no matter how much we signed to them, they would not go back, we shot off over their heads two small cannon⁵. On this they began to return towards the point, and set up a marvellously loud shout, after which they proceeded to come on again as before. And when they had come alongside our long-boat, we shot off two fire-lances⁶ which scattered among them and frightened them so much that they began to paddle off in very great haste, and did not follow us any more.

⁵ Cf. A. Jal, *Glossaire nautique* (Paris, 1848), p. 1139: "Passe-volant. Nom d'une petite bouche à feu en usage à la fin du XV^e siècle et pendant le XVI^e." In his work *De la Pirotechnia*, fol. 79^v (Venetia, 1540), Vanoccio Birinuccio gave the modern name as "mezze colubrine," while Cleirac (*Us et costumes de la mer*, Bordeaux, 1647, p. 497) says: "Les Passevolans sont presumez estre les Faucons."

⁶ *Vid.*, Appendix IV, p. 305.

[COMMENT LESDITS SAUVAIGES VENANS VERS LES NAVIRES, ET LES NOSTRES ALLANS VERS EUX, DESANDIRENT PARTIE DES VNS ET DES AUTRES À TERRE; ET COMMENT LESDITS SAUVAIGES, AVEC GRANDE JOYE, COMMENCÈRENT À TRAFFIQUER AVEC LES NOSTRES^a.]

Le landemain, partie desdits sauvaiges vindrent avecques neuff barques alla pointe et entrée de la conche, où estions possez o nos navires¹. Et nous, estans advertiz de leur venue, allames o nos deux barques alladite pointe et entrée, où ilz estoient. Et incontinent qu'ilz nous aperczeurent, se mysdrent à fuyz, nous faisant signes qu'ilz estoient venuz pour trafiquer avecques nous; et nous montrèrent des peaulx de peu de valleur,

■ The Italian reads: *Come li detti Salvatichi venendo alla volta delle navi, & li nostri andando alla volta loro scesero in terra l'una parte & l'altra, & detti Salvatichi con grande allegrezza cominciarono à trafficar con li nostri.*

HOW THESE INDIANS COMING TOWARDS THE SHIPS AND OUR PEOPLE GOING TOWARDS THEM, SOME FROM EACH PARTY WENT ON SHORE AND HOW THE INDIANS IN GREAT GLEE BEGAN TO BARTER WITH OUR MEN.

The next day [Tuesday, July 7] some of these Indians came in nine canoes to the point at the mouth of the cove, where we lay anchored with our ships¹. And being informed of their arrival we went with our two long-boats to the point where they were, at the mouth of the cove. As soon as they saw us they began to run away, making signs to us that they had come to barter with us; and held up some furs of small value, with which they clothe them-

¹ West point at the mouth of Port Daniel.

de quoy ilz s'acoulstrent. Nous leur fysmes parroillement signe que nous ne leur vouillyons nul mal, et dessandismes deux hommes à terre², pour allez à eulx, leurs portez des cousteaulx et aulstres ferremens, et vng chapeau rouge³ pour donnez alleur cappitaine. Et eulx, voyant ce, dessandirent partie d'eulx à terre, avecques desdites peaulx, et traficquèrent ensemble; et demenèrent vne grande et merveilleusse joye d'avoir et recouvrer desdits ferremens et aulstres chosses, dansans et faissant plusieurs serymonyes, en gectant de la mer sur leur testes avecques leurs mains. Et nous baillèrent tout ce qu'ilz avoint, tellement qu'ilz s'en retournèrent touz nulz^b, sans aulcune chose | avoir sur eulx; et nous fidrent 637 signe, que le landemain, retourneroint avecques d'aultres peaulx.

^b Ramusio has, *nudi* which is evidently what is meant.

selves. We likewise made signs to them that we wished them no harm, and sent two men on shore², to offer them some knives and other iron goods, and a red cap to give to their chief³. Seeing this, they sent on shore part of their people with some of their furs; and the two parties traded together. The savages showed a marvellously great pleasure in possessing and obtaining these iron wares and other commodities, dancing and going through many ceremonies, and throwing salt water over their heads with their hands. They bartered all they had to such an extent that all went back naked without anything on them; and they made signs to us that they would return on the morrow with more furs.

² Bayfield, *op. cit.*, II, 23: "West Point is of craggy gray limestone . . . ; on its north side there is a small cove, and a good landing for boats."

³ "A precious thing always," says the Rev. John Maclean (*Canadian Savage Folk*, Toronto, 1896, p. 120), "in the eyes of a Canadian red man."

[COMMENT APRÈS QUE LES NOSTRES EURENT ENVOYÉ DEUX HOMMES À TERRE AVEC MARCHAN-DISE, VINDRENT ENVIRON 300 SAUVAIGES, EN GRANDE JOYE; DE LA QUALITÉ DE CE PAYS, ET DE CE QU'IL PRODUIT; ET D'VNE BAYE NOMMÉE BAYE DE CHALEUR^a.]

Le jeudi, VIII^e¹ dudit moys, pour ce que le vant n'estoit bon pour sortir o nos navires, esquippames nosdites barques, pour allez descouvriez ladite baye, et courimes celuy jour dedans environ xxv lieues². Et le landemain au matin, eumes bon temps, et fysmes porter jusques environ dix heures du matin^b, alla quelle heure eusmes congnoissance du font de ladite baye, dont fusmes dollans et masriz³. Au font de laquelle baye, y

^a The Italian reads: *Come havendo li nostri mandati duoi huomini in terra con mercantie vennero da 300. salvatichi con grande allegrezza; della qualita di quel paese & quello produca, & del Golfo chiamato il Golfo del calore.*

^b Ramusio has, *fino à mezo giorno.*

HOW, WHEN OUR PEOPLE HAD SENT TWO MEN ON SHORE WITH GOODS, ABOUT THREE HUNDRED INDIANS MET THEM IN GREAT GLEE; OF THE NATURE OF THIS COUNTRY AND OF ITS PRODUCTS; AND OF A BAY NAMED CHALEUR BAY.

On Thursday the eighth¹ of the said month [of July] as the wind was favourable for getting under way with our ships, we fitted up our long-boats to go and explore this [Chaleur] bay; and we ran up it that day some twenty-five leagues². The next day [Friday, July 10], at daybreak, we had fine weather and sailed on until about ten o'clock in the morning, at which hour we caught sight of the head of the bay, whereat we were grieved and displeased³. At the head of this bay, beyond the low shore, were several very high mountains⁴. And seeing there was no passage,

¹ Thursday was July 9.

² Bayfield, *op. cit.*, II, 20: "The depth of the bay, from Miscou to the entrance of the Restigouche river, is about 75 miles."

³ They had hoped this Baie de Chaleur might be a passage to the South Sea. Cf. p. 46, note 14.

⁴ These were Carleton, Scaumenac (1,745 feet high), Dalhousie and Sugar Loaf mountains with the other peaks near Dalhousie at the mouth of the Restigouche river. On the Harleian and Desceliers mappemondes, (plates VIII and

abvoict, par dessus les bassez terres, des terres à montaignes, moult haultes⁴. Et voyant qu'il n'y abvoict passaige, commandames à nous en retournez. Et faisant nostre chemyn le long de la coste, vismes lesdits sauvaiges sur l'orée d'un estanc et basses terres, queulx fessoient plusieurs feuz et fumées. Nous allames audit lieu⁵, et trouvames qu'il luy abvoict vne antrée de mer, qui entroict oudit estanc, et mysmes nosdites barcques d'un costé de ladite entrée. Lesdits sauvaiges passèrent o vne de leurs barcques, et nous aportèrent des pièces de lou marin, tout cuict, qu'ilz mysdrent sur des pièces de bouays; et puis se retirèrent, nous faissant signe qu'ilz les nous donnoint. Nous envoyasmes deux hommes à terre avecques des hachotz et cousteaulx, patenostres et aultre marchandie, | de quoy ilz demenèrent grande joye. Et 63▼

we proceeded to turn back. While making our way along the [north] shore, we caught sight of the Indians on the side of a lagoon and low beach, who were making many fires that smoked. We rowed over to the spot⁵, and finding there was an entrance from the sea into the lagoon, we placed our long-boats on one side of the entrance. The savages came over in one of their canoes and brought us some strips of cooked seal, which they placed on bits of wood and then withdrew, making signs to us that they were making us a present of them. We sent two men on shore with hatchets, knives, beads and other wares, at which the Indians showed great pleasure. And at once they came over in a crowd

XII, pp. 128 and 192) Dalhousie mountain seems to be called *La Bastille*, perhaps after Le Breton Bastille. *Vid.*, p. 94 *infra*. Cf. Sir Richard H. Bonnycastle, *The Canadas in 1841*, II (London, 1842), 195-196: "Nothing can exceed the grandeur of the approach to the termination of the Bay of Chaleurs, and the opening of the Restigouche River, which separates New Brunswick from [Lower] Canada. The contrast between the low cultivated, or heavily timbered land of New Brunswick, and the mountainous abrupt highlands of Canada, is very remarkable as you narrow the Bay of Chaleurs, particularly when the mountains are capped, or partially shrouded with dense masses of cloud, and the low land a mixture of verdure and sunlight, and the deep clear blue outline of the upper pinnacles is set in sharp relief against the clear sky."

⁵ Doubtless Tracadigash point where there is a lagoon. The Desceliers mappemonde has the word *saulvages* at that spot. Cf. Bayfield, *op. cit.*, II, 28: "Tracadigash point . . . consists of sand, enclosing a shallow lagoon, capable of admitting boats, or very small craft, at high water." The village of Carleton now stands on the northern shore of this lagoon.

incontinent passèrent alla foulle, o leursdites barcques, du costé où nous estions, avecques peaulx et ce qu'ilz abvoient, pour abvoir de nostre marchandie; et estoit en nombre, tant homnes, femmes que enffens, plus de troys cens, dont partie de leurs femnes, qui ne passèrent, danczoint et chantoint, estantes en la mer jusques aux jenouz. Les aulstres femmes, qui estoit passées de l'autre costé où nous estions, vindrent franchement à nous, et nous frotoient les bratz avecques leurs mains, et puis levoint les mains joingtes au ciel, en fessant plusieurs signes de jouaye; et tellement se assurèrent avecques nous, que en fin marchandames, main à main, avecques eulx, de tout ce qu'ilz abvoient, [de sorte qu'il ne leur restoit aultre chose que les nus corps, pource qu'ilz nous donnèrent tout ce qu'ilz abvoient^e,] qui est chose de peu de valeur. Nous congneumes que se sont gens qui seroient fassilles

" From Ramusio who has: *di tutto quello che haveano, di modo che non gli rimase altro che i corpi nudi, percioche ne dettero tutto quello che haveano, che fu cosa di poca valuta.* The omission of these words in the MS. is doubtless due to the copyist having skipped from the first *tout ce qu'ilz abvoient*, to the repetition of the same farther on, an extremely easy mistake.

in their canoes to the side where we were, bringing furs and whatever else they possessed, in order to obtain some of our wares. They numbered, both men, women and children, more than 300 persons. Some of their women, who did not come over, danced and sang, standing in the water up to their knees. The other women, who had come over to the side where we were, advanced freely towards us and rubbed our arms with their hands. Then they joined their hands together and raised them to heaven, exhibiting many signs of joy. And so much at ease did the savages feel in our presence, that at length we bartered with them, hand to hand, for everything they possessed, so that nothing was left to them but their naked bodies; for they offered us everything they owned, which was, all told, of little value. We perceived that they are people who would be easy to convert, who go from place to place maintaining themselves and catching fish in the fishing-season for food. Their country is more temperate than Spain and the finest it is possible to see, and as level as the surface of a pond. There is not the smallest plot of ground bare of wood, and

à convertir, qui vont de lieu en aulstre, vivant, et prenant du poysson, au temps de pescherie, pour vivre. Leur terre est en challeur plus temperée que la terre d'Espagne, et la plus belle qu'i soict possible de voir, et aussi eunye que vng estanc. Et n'y a cy petit lieu, vide de bouays, et fust sur sable, qui ne soict plain de blé sauvaige, qui a l'espy comme seilgle, et le grain conne avoyne; et de poys, aussi espez conne si on les y abvoict seimés et labourez; grouaiseliers, blans et rouges, frassez, franbouaysses, | et roses rouges [et blanches^d,] et aultres herbez de bonne et grande 64^r odeur. Parroillement, y a force belles prairies, et bonnes herbes, et estancq où il luy a force saulmons. Je estime mielx que aultrement, que les gens seroient faciles à convertir à nostre saincte foy^e. Ilz appellent vng hachot, en leur langue, *cochy*, et vng cousteau, *bacan*^f⁶. Nous nonmames ladite baye, *la baye de Chaleur*⁷.

^d From Ramusio who has, *rose rosse & blanche*.

^e This sentence is omitted in Ramusio.

^f Ramusio has, *bacon*.

even on sandy soil, but is full of wild wheat, that has an ear like barley and the grain like oats, as well as of pease, as thick as if they had been sown and hoed; of white and red currant-bushes, of strawberries, of raspberries, of white and red roses and of other plants of a strong, pleasant odour. Likewise there are many fine meadows with useful herbs, and a pond where there are many salmon. I am more than ever of opinion that these people would be easy to convert to our holy faith. They call a hatchet in their language, *cochy*, and a knife, *bacan*⁶. We named this bay, Chaleur bay [i.e. the bay of Heat⁷].

⁶ Cf. Father Pacifique, the Micmac missionary, in *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Québec*, vol. 16, N° 3, août 1922, p. 143, notes 23 et 24: "*Cochy*: c'est ce qu'ils ont saisi de la fin du mot micmac, *Temigentjitj*, petite hache. *Bacan*: ici on a certainement mis un B à la place d'un O; le mot est encore *Oagan*, couteau."

⁷ Still called *baie de Chaleur* or Chaleur bay. The name is given on the Desliens map, the Desceliers planisphere and the Mercator map, which has also, *G. de Chaleur* at the same place. Vid. Harris, *op. cit.*, plate XI; plate XII, p. 192 *infra*, and Kohl, *op. cit.*, map No. XXII, p. 384. Cf. Bayfield, *op. cit.*, II, 20: "The climate is warmer, and the weather in general much finer, within this [Chaleur] bay, than it is outside in the adjacent parts of the gulf." According to Father Pacifique, *op. cit.* 143, the Micmacs "appellent encore aujourd'hui Port Daniel, *Epsegeneg*, où l'on se chauffe." My thanks are due to Father Pacifique for his valuable help on this subject.

[D'VNE AULTRE NATION DE SAUVAGES, ET DE
LEURS COUTUMES, FAÇONS DE VIVRE ET DE
S'ACCOUSTRER^a.]

Nous estans certains qu'i n'y avoict passage par ladite baye, fysmes voille et aparoillames de ladite conche saint Martin¹, le dimanche, douziesme jour de juillet, pour allez charcher et decouvriz oultre ladite baye; et fysmes couriz à l'est, le long de la coste qui ainsi gist, environ dix-ouict lieues, jusques au cap de Pratto². Et là, trouvames vne merveilleuse marée, et petit fontz³, et la mer fort malle. Et nous convint serrez à terre, entre ledit cap et vne ille⁴, qui est à l'est d'iceluy environ vne lieue, et là, possames

^a The Italian reads: *Di un' altra nazione di Salvatichi, & de costumi & vivere & vestir loro.*

OF ANOTHER NATION OF INDIANS AND OF THEIR
CUSTOMS, MANNER OF LIFE AND WAYS OF
CLOTHING THEMSELVES.

Being certain that there was no passage through this bay, we made sail and set forth from St. Martin's cove¹ on Sunday, July 12, in order to explore and discover beyond this bay; and we sailed east some eighteen leagues along the coast, which runs in that direction, as far as cape Pratto [or Meadow]². And there we found an extraordinary tide, shallow water³, and a very rough sea. And we deemed it advisable to hug the shore between that cape [d'Espoir] and an island⁴, which lies about one league east of it, where we dropped anchor for the night⁵. And the next

¹ Port Daniel in Chaleur bay.

² *Cap d'Espoir*, thirty miles east of Port Daniel. The redactor has omitted to mention the naming of this cape which doubtless took place on their arrival at the mouth of the bay. The Desceliers mappemonde has *c. de Prey* which is the French rendering (i.e. *pré*) for the Spanish or Portuguese *prado*, a meadow. Cf. Bayfield, *op. cit.* I, 71: "Cape Espoir . . . consists of red sandstone cliffs, without beach, and of a moderate height above the sea."

³ Leander shoal, lying about a mile and a half S. by E. $\frac{1}{2}$ E. of cap d'Espoir.

⁴ Bonaventure island. Cf. Bayfield, *op. cit.*, I, 72: "Bonaventure island, 400 feet high, has bold and perpendicular cliffs of red sandstone and conglomerate on all sides except the west." See J. M. Clarke, *The Heart of Gaspé*, 94.

⁵ *Ibid.*, *loc. cit.*: "There is anchorage in 15 fathoms between it [Bonaventure island] and White head on the mainland; but the riding is insecure and heavy in consequence of the swell, which, in bad weather, rolls round the island."

les encrez pour la nuyt⁵. Et le landemain au matin⁶, fismes voille pour debvoir rangez ladite coste, qui gist nort nordest; mais il sourvint tant de vant controire, qu'i nous convint relacher de là où nous estions partiz⁴. Et y fusmes ledit jour et la nuyt, jusques au landemain⁷, que fismes voille, et vysmes le trevers d'une ripvière⁸, qui est à cinq ou seix lieues dudit cap [de Pratto^{b 2}], au nort. Et nous estans le travers d'icelle ripvière, nous vint le vent, [encore vne fois^c], controire, et force bruymes et non veue, et nous convint entrer dedans | icelle^d rivièrre, le mardi, XIII^e 64^v jour dudit moys; et posames à l'entrée jusques au XVI^e, esperant avoyr bon temps, et sortyr. Et ledit jour, XVI^e, qui est

^b From Ramusio who has, *da detto Capo di Prato*. ^c From Ramusio who has: *di nuovo havemo vento contrario*, etc. ^d The writing in the MS. again changes and from here to the end is difficult to read.

morning [Monday, July 13], at daybreak, we set sail with the intention of following the coast, which ran north-north-east, but there arose such a head-wind that we deemed it prudent to put back to the spot whence we had set out⁴. We remained there that day [Monday, July 13] and night until the following morning, [Tuesday, July 14], when we set sail and came abreast of a river⁸ that lies five or six leagues to the north of cape Pratto². And when we were off this river, the wind again came ahead, with much fog and mist, and we deemed it advisable to run into this river on Tuesday the fourteenth of the said month [of July]. We remained at anchor at the mouth of it until the sixteenth, hoping for fair weather and to set forth. But on the said sixteenth, which was a Thursday, the wind increased to such an extent that one of our ships lost an anchor, and we deemed it prudent to go farther

⁶ Monday, July 13.

⁷ Tuesday, July 14.

⁸ Gaspé bay into which empties Dartmouth river. Cf. *Ibid.*, I, 74: "Gaspé bay possesses advantages which may hereafter render it one of the most important places, in a maritime point of view, in these seas. It contains an excellent outer roadstead off Douglastown; a harbour at its head [Gaspé harbour], capable of holding a numerous fleet in perfect safety; and a basin [Gaspé basin] where large ships might be hove down and refitted. The course up this bay . . . is N. by W. and the distance 16 miles;" and J. A. Genand, *Notes de voyage—Le Golfe et les provinces maritimes* (Montréal, 1872), 7: "Quels sites enchanteurs de chaque côté du bassin! Quels superbes points de vue! Collines escarpées aux flancs desquelles de belles et gentilles résidences, vertes prairies couvertes de verdure et de moissons ondulantes, puis le long des côtes des cabanes de pêcheurs: le tableau est enchanteur." The bay is seven miles and a quarter wide at its mouth.

jeudi, le vent renfforça tellement, que l'un de nos navires perdyt une ancre, et nous convynt entrer plus avant, sept ou huit lieues amont icelle rivière, en vng bon hable et seur⁹, que nous avyons esté veoyr avec nos barques. Et pour le mauvays temps, sarraize, et non veue qu'il fist, fusmes en icelluy hable et ryvière jusques au XXV^e jour dudit mois, sans en pouvoyr sortyr. Durant lequel temps, nous vint grant nombre de sauvaiges, qui estoient venuz en ladite rivière pour pescher des masquereaulx, desquelz il y a grant habondance. Et estoient, tant homes, femaes que enffans, plus de deux cens personnes, qui avoyent envyron quarante barques, lesquelz, après avoyr vng peu [practiqué^e] à terre avecques eulx, venoyent franchement avec leus barques à bord de nos navyres. Nous leur donnasmes des cousteaulx, pathenostres de voyrée, pengnes, et aultres besongnes de peu de valeur; de quoy faisoient plusieurs signes de joyes, levant les mains au ciel, en chantant et dansant dedans leursdites barques. Celle

■ This word is omitted in the MS. Ramusio has: *quali dipoi c'hebbeno un poco praticato à terra con noi, etc.*

up some seven or eight leagues, into a good and safe harbour⁹, which we had already explored with our long-boats. On account of the continuous bad weather with over-cast sky and mist, we remained in that harbour and river, without being able to leave, until [Saturday], the twenty-fifth of the said month [of July]. During that time there arrived a large number of savages, who had come to the river [Gaspé basin] to fish for mackerel, of which there is great abundance. They [the savages] numbered, as well men, women as children, more than 300 persons, with some forty canoes. When they had mixed with us a little on shore, they came freely in their canoes to the sides of our vessels. We gave them knives, glass beads, combs and other trinkets of small value, at which they showed many signs of joy, lifting up their hands to heaven and singing and dancing in their canoes. This people may well be called savage; for they are the sorriest folk there can be in the world, and the whole lot of them had not anything above the value of five sous, their canoes and fishing-nets excepted.

⁹ Gaspé harbour behind Sandy Beach point. Cf. Bayfield, *op. cit.*, I, 77: "In Gaspé harbour the shelter is complete from all winds; the bottom is mud, and the depth . . . eleven fathoms and a half"; and F. J. Richmond, *The Landing Place of Jacques Cartier at Gaspé in 1534* in *Annual Report of the Canadian Historical Association*, 1922, 38-46, Ottawa, 1923.

gent se peult nonmer sauvaiger, car c'est la plus pouvre gence qu'il puisse estre au monde; car tous ensemble n'avoyent la vailleure de cinq solz, leurs barques et leurs raitz à pescher hors. Ilz sont tous nudz, reservé vne petite peau, de quoy ilz couvrent leur nature, et aulcunes vielles peaulx de bestes qu'ilz gectent sur eulx en escharpes. Ilz ne sont point de la nature, ny langue des premiers que avions trouvé¹⁰. Ilz ont la teste truzée à reons, tout à l'entour, reservé vng rynet en le hault de la teste, qu'ilz laissent long, comme vne queue de cheval¹¹, qu'i lyent et serrent sur leurs testes | en vng loppin, avecques des coroyes de 65^r cuyr. Ilz n'ont aultre logis que soubz leursdites barques, qu'ilz tournent adans, et se couchent sur la terre dessoubz icelles¹². Ilz mangent leur chair quasi crue, après estre vng peu eschauffée sur les charbons, et pareillement leur poisson. Nous fusmes, le jour de la Magdelaine¹³, o noz barques, au lieu où ilz estoient, sur l'orée de l'eau, et descendismes franchement parmy eulx, dequoy ilz demenèrent grand joye, et se prindrent tous les homnes à chanter et danser, en deux ou troys bandes, faisant grant signe

They go quite naked, except for a small skin, with which they cover their privy parts, and for a few old furs which they throw over their shoulders. They are not at all of the same race or language as the first we met¹⁰. They have their heads shaved all around in circles, except for a tuft on the top of the head, which they leave long like a horse's tail¹¹. This they do up upon their heads and tie in a knot with leather thongs. They have no other dwelling but their canoes, which they turn upside down and sleep on the ground underneath¹². They eat their meat almost raw, only warming it a little on the coals; and the same with their fish. On St. Magdalen's day¹³, we rowed over in our long-boats to the spot on shore where they were, and went on land freely among them. At this they showed great joy, and the men all began to sing and to dance in two or three groups, exhibiting signs of great

¹⁰ Cf. pp. 52-57.

¹¹ Cf. Rev. Peter Jones, *History of the Ojibway Indians*, London, 1861, p. 76: "Some of the old men have the hair of their heads cut very close . . . except a small tuft on the crown which is left as a bravado, so that in case they should fall into the hands of their enemies they may be scalped with ease;" and *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, V, 242.

¹² Lescarbot (*op. cit.*, 1609, p. 276) has added in the margin: "Sauvages logeans souz leurs barques ou canoas." ¹³ Wednesday, July 22.

de joye de nostre venue. Mays ilz avoyent fait fouyr toutes les jeunes femmes dedans le boys, fors deux ou trois, qui demeurèrent, à qui nous donnasmes, chaincune vng pigne, et à chaincune vne petite clochette d'estang, dequoy ilz firent grand joye, remercyant le cappitaine, en luy frottant les bras et la poictryne avecques leurs mains. Et eulx, voyant que on avoyt donné à celles qui estoient demourées, firent venir celles qui estoient fuyes^f au boys, pour en avoyr autant comme les aultres, qui estoient bien vne vi[n]gtaine, que se assemblèrent sus ledit cappitaine, en le frottant avec leursdites mains, qui est leur façon de faire chère. Et il leur donna à chaincune sa petite rangette d'estaing, de peu de valleur; et incontinent, se assemblèrent ensemble à danser, et dyrent plusieurs chanssons. Nous trouvâmes grant quantité de macquereaulx, qu'ilz avoyent pesché bort à bort de terre, avecques des raiz qu'ilz ont à pescher, qui sont de fil de chanvre, qui croist en leur pays, où ilz se tiennent ordinairement; car ilz ne vyennent à la mer que au temps de la pescherye, ainsi que j'ay sceu et entendu¹⁴. Pareillement, y croist de groz mil, comme poix, ainsi que au Brésil, qu'ilz mangent en lieu de pain, dequoy

^f The copyist first wrote, *fui*, and forgot to erase it when he had followed this up by writing, *fuyes*.

pleasure at our coming. But they had made all the young women retire into the woods, except two or three who remained, to whom we gave each a comb and a little tin bell, at which they showed great pleasure, thanking the captain by rubbing his arms and his breast with their hands. And the men, seeing we had given something to the women that had remained, made those come back who had fled to the woods, in order to receive the same as the others. These, who numbered some twenty, crowded about the captain and rubbed him with their hands, which is their way of showing welcome. He gave them each a little tin ring of small value; and at once they assembled together in a group to dance; and sang several songs. We saw a large quantity of mackerel which they had caught near the shore with the nets they use for fishing, which are made of hemp thread, that grows in the country where they ordinarily reside; for they only come down to the sea in the fishing-season, as I have been given to understand¹⁴. Here likewise grows Indian corn like pease, the same as in Brazil, which they eat in place of bread, and of this they had a large quantity

¹⁴ *Vid.* p. 23 *supra* note 10.

ilz avoyent tout plain aveques eulx, qu'i nomment en leur langage, *kagaige*^{g 15}. Pareillement ont des prunes, qu'ilz seichent, comme nous faisons, pour l'yver, qu'i nomment, *honnesta*¹⁶; des figues, noix, poires, pommes et aultres fruictz; et des febves, qu'i nomment, *sahé*^{h 17}, les noix, *caheya*¹⁸, les figuesⁱ, *honnesta*, les pommes . . .^j. Si on leur monstre aucune choses dequoy ilz n'ayent point, et qu'i ne sçavent que c'est, ilz secouent la teste, et dyent *nouda*^k, qui est à dire qu'il n'y en a point, et qu'ilz ne sçavent que c'est. Des choses qu'ilz ont, ilz nous ont monstré par signes, la façon comme il croyst, et comme ilz l'acoustrent. Ilz ne mangent jamays chose où il y ait goust de sel. Ilz sont larrons à merveilles, de tout ce qu'ilz peuvent desrober¹⁹.

^g Ramusio has, *kapaige*.

^h Ramusio has, *sahu*.

ⁱ These two words have been repeated in the MS.

^j There is a blank here in the MS. and in Ramusio.

^k Ramusio has, *nohda*. Though Lescarbot did not visit this region he has added here (*op. cit.*, 1609, p. 278): "Le langage de ces peuples a changé, car aujourd'hui ilz ne parlent point ainsi."

with them. They call it in their language, *Kagaige*¹⁵. Furthermore they have plums which they dry for the winter as we do, and these they call, *honnesta*¹⁶; also figs, nuts, pears, apples and other fruits, and beans which they call, *sahé*¹⁷. They call nuts, *caheya*¹⁸, figs, *honnesta*, apples . . . If one shows them something they have not got and they know not what it is, they shake their heads and say, *nouda*, which means, they have none of it and know not what it is. Of the things they have, they showed us by signs the way they grow and how they prepare them. They never eat anything that has a taste of salt in it. They are wonderful thieves and steal everything they can carry off¹⁹.

¹⁵ This word is not found elsewhere.

¹⁶ This word is given again in the vocabulary of Cartier's second voyage (p. 242), which shows that this tribe was of the Huron-Iroquois family. Cf. Sagard, *Dictionnaire*, "Prunes, Tonestes," and "semences de Citroüilles, Onesta."

¹⁷ Cf. p. 81 *infra*, and Sagard, *Dictionnaire*, "Meures, Sahiesse."

¹⁸ Cf. H. R. Schoolcraft, *The American Indians*, etc., Buffalo, 1851, p. 337: "The language spoken by these Gaspé Indians is manifestly of the Iroquois type. "Cohehya" (sic) is, with a slight difference, the term for fruit in the Oneida." Cf. Sagard, *Dictionnaire*, etc. "Tous menus fruicts, Hahique."

¹⁹ Cf. *The Jesuit Relations*, etc., V, 240: "Je ne croy pas qu'il y ait nation sous le ciel plus portée au larcin que la Huronne, il faut tousiours avoir les yeux sur leurs pieds & sur leurs mains quand ils entrent en quelque endroit. On dit qu'ils dérobent des pieds aussi bien que des mains," etc.

[COMMENT LES NOSTRES PLANTÈRENT VNE GRANDE CROIX SUR LA POINTE DE L'ENTRÉE DUDIT HABLE, ET COMMENT EST VENU LE CAPITAINE DE CES SAUVAGES, ET COMMENT APRÈS VNE GRANDE HARANGUE, IL FUT APPAISIÉ PAR NOSTRE CAPITAINE, ET RESTA CONTENT QUE DEUX DE SES FILS ALLASSENT AVECQUES LUY^a.]

Le XXIII^{me} jour dudict moys, nous fismes faire vne croix, de trente piedz de hault, qui fut faicte devant plusieurs d'eulx, sur la poincte¹ de l'entrée dudit hable², soubz le croysillon de laquelle mismes vng escusson en bosse, à troys fleurs de lys, et dessus, vng escripteau en boys, engravé en grosse lettre de forme³, où il y avoit, VIVE LE ROY DE FRANCE. Et icelle croix

^a The Italian reads: *Come li nostri piantarono una gran Croce sopra la punta dell' entrata del porto, et venuto il Capitano di quei Salvatichi dopo un lungo sermone finalmente acquetato dal nostro Capitano rimase contento che duoi suoi figliuoli andassero con lui.*

HOW OUR PEOPLE SET UP A LARGE CROSS ON THE POINT AT THE MOUTH OF THIS HARBOUR, AND HOW THE CHIEF OF THAT TRIBE CAME AND AFTER A LONG HARANGUE WAS QUIETED BY OUR CAPTAIN AND ALLOWED TWO OF HIS SONS TO DEPART WITH THE LATTER.

On [Friday] the twenty-fourth of the said month [of July], we had a cross made thirty feet high, which was put together in the presence of a number of the Indians on the point¹ at the entrance to this harbour², under the cross-bar of which we fixed a shield with three *fleurs-de-lys* in relief, and above it a wooden board,

¹ Since the cross was intended to serve as a landmark for entering the harbour, it was probably set up on the Peninsula, as it is called, which lies opposite to Sandy Beach point.

² Gaspé harbour. Though there is no mention of a name being given to Gaspé bay, it is called *r. de Memorancy* on the Harleian and Desceliers mappe-mondes, and in Thevet (*op. cit.*, 1011^v). This may however be by mistake. Cf. Prof. Ganong's paper in *Transactions of the Royal Society*, 1st ser., VII, ii, 33. Gaspé peninsula was afterwards generally spoken of as Honguedo (*Vid.*, pp. 103, 178, 193, 235 and 288), and this name is given on the Desliens map and on the Desceliers planisphere. *Vid.* J. M. Clarke, *op. cit.* 40.

plantasmes sur ladicte poincte devant eulx, lesquelz la regardoyent faire et planter. Et après qu'elle fut eslevé en l'air, nous mismes tous à genoulx, les mains jointes, en adorant icelle devant eulx, et leur fismes signe, regardant et leur monstrant le ciel, que par icelle estoit nostre redemption, dequoy ilz firent plusieurs admyradtions, en tournant et regardant icelle croix.

Nous estans retournez en noz navires, vint le cappitaine, vestu d'une vieille peau d'ours noire, dedans une barque, avecques trois de ses filz et son frère, lesquelz ne aprochèrent si près du bort comme avoyent de coustume, et nous fit une grande harangue, nous monstrant ladite croix, et faisant le signe de la croix avec deux doydz; et puis nous monstroït la terre, tout à l'entour de nous, | comme s'il eust voullu dire, que toute la terre estoit à luy, et que nous ne devyons pas planter ladite croix sans son congé. Et après qu'il eut finy sadite harangue, nous luy monstrasmes une hache, faignant la luy bailler pour sa peau. Aquoy il entendit, et peu à peu, s'aprocha du bourt de nostre navire, cuydant avoyr 66

engraved in large Gothic characters³, where was written, LONG LIVE THE KING OF FRANCE. We erected this cross on the point in their presence and they watched it being put together and set up. And when it had been raised in the air, we all knelt down with our hands joined, worshipping it before them; and made signs to them, looking up and pointing towards heaven, that by means of this we had our redemption, at which they showed many marks of admiration, at the same time turning and looking at the cross.

When we had returned to our ships, the chief, dressed in an old black bear-skin, arrived in a canoe with three of his sons and his brother; but they did not come so close to the ships as they had usually done. And pointing to the cross he [the chief] made us a long harangue, making the sign of the cross with two of his fingers; and then he pointed to the land all around about, as if he wished to say that all this region belonged to him, and that we ought not to have set up this cross without his permission. And when he had finished his harangue, we held up an axe to him, pretending

³ Cf. Geofroy Tory, *Champfleury au quel est contenu Lart & Science de la deue & vraye Proportion des Lettres Attiques*, etc., Paris, 1529, feuille LXXIII verso at the end of liv. III, where examples are given of *Lettres de forme*.

ladite hache. Et l'un de noz gens, estant dedans nostre bateau, mist la main sur sadite barque, et incontinant il en entra deux ou troys dedans leur barque, et les^b fist on entrer dedans nostre navire, dequoy furent bien estonnez. Et eulx estans entrez, furent asseurez par le cappitaine qu'ilz n'auront nul mal, en leur montrant grant signe d'amour; et les fist on boyre et manger, et faire grant chère. Et puis leurs montrasmes par signe, que ladite croix avoit esté plantée pour faire merche et ballise, pour entrer dedans le hable; et que nous y retourneryons bien tost, et leurs apporteryons des ferremens et aultres choses; et que nous voullyons emmener deux de ses filz avecques nous, et puys les rapporterions audit hable. Et acoustrasmes sesdits deux filz de deux che-

^b Ramusio has, & subito lo costrinsero.

we would barter it for his fur-skin. To this he nodded assent and little by little drew near the side of our vessel, thinking he would have the axe. But one of our men, who was in our dinghy, caught hold of his canoe, and at once two or three more stepped down into it and made the Indians come on board our vessel, at which they were greatly astonished. When they had come on board, they were assured by the captain that no harm would befall them, while at the same time every sign of affection was shown to them; and they were made to eat and to drink and to be of good cheer. And then we explained to them by signs that the cross had been set up to serve as a land-mark and guide-post on coming into the harbour, and that we would soon come back and would bring them iron wares and other goods; and that we wished to take two of his [the chief's] sons away with us and afterwards would bring

mises, et en livrées, et de bonnetz rouges, et à chaincun, sa chainette de laton au col. Dequoy se contentèrent fort, et baillèrent leurs vieulx hailyons à ceulx qui retournoient. Et puis donnasmes aux troys que renvoyames, à chaincun son hachot et deux cous-teaulx, dequoy menèrent grant joye. Et eulx estans retournez à la terre, dyrent les nouvelles aux aultres. Envyrion midi d'icel-luy jour⁴, retournèrent six barques à bort, où il y avoit à chaincune cinq ou six hommes, lesquelz vencyent pour dire adieu aux deux que avyons retins; et leurs apportèrent du poisson. Et nous firent signe qu'ilz ne habbatroyent ladite croix, en nous faisant plusieurs harengues que n'entendions.

them back again to that harbour. And we dressed up his two sons in shirts and ribbons and in red caps, and put a little brass chain round the neck of each, at which they were greatly pleased; and they proceeded to hand over their old rags to those who were going back on shore. To each of these three, whom we sent back, we also gave a hatchet and two knives at which they showed great pleasure. When they had returned on shore, they told the others what had happened. About noon on that day⁴ six canoes came off to the ships, in each of which were five or six Indians, who had come to say good-bye to the two we had detained, and to bring them some fish. These made signs to us that they would not pull down the cross, delivering at the same time several harangues which we did not understand.

⁴ Friday, July 24.

[COMMENT, ESTANS PARTIS DUDIT HABLE, FAISANS
LA ROUTE LE LONG DE CESTE COSTE, ALLÈRENT
QUERIR LA TERRE, QUI GISOIT SUEST ET NOR-
OUEST ^a.]

Le landeman, XXV^{me} jour dudit moys, le vent vynt bon, et
66^v appareillasmes du[dit ^b] hable¹; et nous estans hors | de ladite
ryvière, fismes porter à l'est nordest, pour ce que, depuis l'entrée
de ladite rivièrre, estoit la terre rengée, faisant vne baye², en ma-
nière de demy cercle, dont avyons veues de toute la couste de noz
navires³. Et en faisant la route, vynmes querir ladite terre⁴,
qui gisoit suest et noruoyst, le paraige de laquelle il povoyt avoir
de distance, despuis ladite rivièrre¹, envyron xx lieues⁵.

^a The Italian reads: *Come partiti dal porto sopradetto facendo il cammino
drieto quella costa andorono à cercar la terra ch'era posta verso Scirocco & Maestro.*

^b From Ramusio who has, *da detto porto.*

HOW AFTER SETTING FORTH FROM THIS HARBOUR
AND MAKING THEIR WAY ALONG THAT COAST,
THEY WENT IN QUEST OF THE COAST THAT RAN
SOUTH-EAST AND NORTH-WEST.

The next day [Saturday] the twenty-fifth of the said month
[of July], the wind came fair and we set sail from that harbour¹;
and when we were outside of the river, we headed east-north-
east, because, from the mouth of that river the coast ran back
forming a bay², in the shape of a semi-circle, of which we could
see the whole coast-line from our ships³. And holding our course,
we drew near that coast⁴, which ran south-east and north-west.
This locality was distant from the last-mentioned river¹ possibly
some twenty leagues⁵.

¹ Gaspé harbour. ² The passage between Gaspé and Anticosti island.

³ That is to say (see Plate V, p. 64) after following the Gaspé shore for
some distance, they thought, probably on account of a mirage, that this
passage into the river St. Lawrence was a bay, and they therefore stood over to
the shore of Anticosti. These mirages are common in the gulf. Cf. W. Kelly
in the *Transactions of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec*, III, 26-27.
Cf. also Belleforest, *op. cit.*, tom. II, col. 2184: "Poursuyvant le fleuve voisin
de Cap de Pré [Pratto], il y a un goulphe fait en demy croissant, qui donne
bonne grace a toute la coste, laquelle on descouvre aisement de la mer avant, &
apres ils trouverent un Promontoire qu'ils appellerent Cap de saint Loys," etc.

⁴ Anticosti island near South-West point.

⁵ The distance from cape Gaspé, at the mouth of Gaspé bay, to South-
West point on Anticosti island is about forty-four miles.

[DU CAP SAINT LOYS ET CAP DE MONMORANCY,
ET D'AULCUNES AULTRES TERRES; ET COMMENT
VNE DE NOS BARQUES TOUCHA SUR VN ROCHER
ET INCONTINANT PASSA OULTRE^a.]

Dempuys le lundy, XXVII^e, soleil à ouest, rangasmes ladite terre, comne dit est, gisant suest et noruoest, jusques au mardi^b, que vismes vng aultre capt¹, où la terre commence à s'abatre à l'est, et la rangasmes xv lieues; et puis commence ladite terre à se rabbatre au nort². A troys lieues d'icellui capt², y a de sonde xxiiii brasses et tangnay³. Le tout desdites terres sont terres vnyes, et les plus descouverte de boys que nous ayons veu

^a The Italian reads: *Del Capo di Santo Alwise & Capo di Memoransi, & d'alcune altre terre: & come una delle nostre barche toccò un scoglio, & subito passò oltre.*

^b Ramusio has, *sino al mercoledì.*

OF CAPE ST. LEWIS, AND CAPE MONTMORENCY,
AND OF SOME OTHER COASTS; AND HOW ONE OF
OUR LONG-BOATS STRUCK UPON A ROCK BUT
SOON PASSED ON.

We sailed along that [south] coast [of Anticosti], which as before mentioned ran south-east and north-west, from Monday afternoon, the twenty-seventh [of July] until Tuesday [July 28], when we had sight of another cape¹, where the coast begins to run off to the east; and we ranged it fifteen leagues. Then the coast begins to fall away to the north². Three leagues from this cape² the depth is twenty-four fathoms, with muddy bottom³. The whole of this coast is flat, and the most bare of timber that we have seen or found, with beautiful fields and marvellously green

¹ South point on Anticosti island. Cf. Bayfield, *op. cit.*, 1, 61: "From South point to . . . South-West point a distance of 56 miles there is such a sameness in the character of the coast, that it is very difficult to make out one part from another."

² At Heath point, the south-eastern extremity of the island, twenty-two and a half miles from South point.

³ *Ibid.*, 59-60: "The lines of 20 and 30 fathoms, which off East cape are respectively half a mile and one mile and a quarter distant from the shore, turn abruptly south-eastward, forming a projecting flat ledge off Heath point, from which the 20 fathoms line is seven miles and three quarters and the 30 fathoms line is 13 miles distant respectively."

et trouvé, avec belles praries, et champagnes, vertes à merveilles⁴. Ledit capt² fut nonmé *le capt saint Loys*, pour que ledit jour⁵ estoit la feste dudit saint, et [est]⁶ à 40 et 9 degrez, vng quart de latitude, et à soixante et trois degrez et demy de longitude⁶.

Le mecredi au mactin⁷, nous estans à l'est dudit capt, et fismes porter au noruoist, pour accoincter la terre, jusques envyron soleil couchant. Icelles^d gisent nort et su. D'empuis ledit cap

^c From Ramusio who has, & è *in gradi* 49. & *mezo di latitudine*.

^d As this word is given in contraction, it may be singular and the sense be, *icelle gisant Nord et Sud*. Ramusio has: & *trovamo che la risguardava Tramontana & Ostro*.

meadows⁴. The above cape² was named cape St. Lewis, on account of that day being the festival of this saint⁵. It lies in latitude 49° 15' and in longitude 63° 30'⁶.

On Wednesday morning⁷ we were to the east of that cape and headed north-west to examine that coast, until about sunset. The land here runs north and south. From cape St. Lewis⁶ to

⁴ Cf. *Travels in North America by M. Crespel with a Narrative of his Shipwreck . . . on the island of Anticosti; and an Account of that Island*, etc. (London, 1797), Introd. pp. XIX-XX: "The land, from the South-West point to the East point, is chiefly low heaths . . . ; bears no wood for the space of one or two miles from the sea shore," etc.; and *Geological Survey of Canada*, Toronto, 1857, p. 195: "The south side of the island, in its general aspect, is low; the general height above the sea is from ten to twenty feet." *Vid.* also Hakluyt, *op. cit.*, III, 194, and Huard, *op. cit.*, 223.

⁵ July 28, the festival of St. Leobatus, abbot of Sennevières.

⁶ Heath point lies in lat. 49° 5' and in long. 64° 2' west of Paris.

⁷ July 29.

⁸ Table Head, a densely wooded summit 260 feet high on the north coast of Anticosti island and about twenty-three miles from Heath point. Cf. Belleforest, *op. cit.*, tom. II, col. 2184: "& apres ils trouverent . . . un autre [Promontoire], auquel ils donnerent le nom de Mommorency, en souvenance de ce grand Connestable Anne de Mommorency, qui pour ses vertus, sagesse, & vailance a eu l'heur de servir quatre Roys de France estant Mareschal, grand Maistre, & depuis Conestable de France." *Vid.* F. Decrue, *Anne de Montmorency Grand Maître et Connétable de France, à la cour, aux armées et au conseil du roi Francois 1^{er}*, Paris, 1885. His arms are on the Desceliers planisphere of 1550. The name may be given on the Harleian mappemonde on Anticosti but is illegible. The Mercator map places it on Gaspé peninsula. Cf. Ganong's paper in *Transactions of the Royal Sociey*, 1st ser., VII, ii, 33, 1890. There is no mention of East point, for the reason doubtless that being some distance off, they did not notice it.

saint Loys⁶ jusques à vng aultre cap, nonmé *cap de Monmorancy*⁸, envyron quinze lieues audit cap, la terre commence à se rabbatre au noruoist. Nous cuydasmes sonder à troys lieues ou envyron dudit cap⁸, et ne peulmes y treuvé fons à cent cinquante brasses⁹. Nous rengasmes icelle terre environ dix lieues, jusques en la haulteur de cinquante degrez en latitude¹⁰.

Le samedi, premier jour d'aoust, à soleil levant, husmes congnoissance et veue d'aultres terres¹¹, | qui nous demoroient ⁶⁷ au nort et au nordest de nous, quelles estoient haultes terres à merveilles, et hachées à montagnes; entre nous et lesquelles y avoyt des basses terres, où il y a boys et rivières¹². Nous rangasmes lesdites terres, tant d'vne part que d'aultre, faissant le

another cape named Montmorency the distance is fifteen leagues⁸. There the coast begins to run off towards the north-west. We thought we would take soundings three leagues or thereabouts from that cape but could not get bottom in 150 fathoms⁹. We ranged that [north] coast [of Anticosti] about ten leagues, as far as fifty degrees of latitude¹⁰.

At sunrise on Saturday the first of August, we descried and came in sight of another coast¹¹ that lay to the north and north-east of us. It was a marvellously high coast cut up into peaks; and between them and us the shore was low with rivers and timber thereon¹². Heading north-west we ranged these coasts, first on one side and then on the other, to see if this¹³ was a bay or a strait, until Wednesday the fifth of the said month [of August]—the distance from shore to shore is about fifteen leagues and the centre is in latitude 50° 20' ¹⁴—without ever being able to advance up it more than about twenty-five leagues, on account of the

⁹ A depth of 154 fathoms is given on the charts a few miles north-east of Table Head.

¹⁰ The parallel of fifty degrees runs up the middle of the passage between Anticosti island and the Quebec coast opposite.

¹¹ The Quebec coast opposite to Anticosti.

¹² At about seven miles inland the hills rise to over 1,000 feet. Cf. Bayfield, *op. cit.*, I, 197: "The coast . . . is low near the sea, rising a short distance back into mounds and ridges, but nowhere exceeding 400 feet in height . . . The sandy tracts are always thickly wooded with spruce trees."

¹³ The passage north of Anticosti.

¹⁴ *Vid.* note 10 *supra*.

noruoest, pour veoyr s'il c'estoit baye ou passage¹³, jusques au cinquiesme jour dudit moys,—il y a de l'vne terre à l'autre envyron xv lieues, et le parmy en cinquante degrez¹⁴ vng tiers en latitude^e—sans jamais pouvoyr gagner dedans icelle plus que envyron xxv^f lieues, pour la difficulté des grandz ventz et marées contraires^g, qui là estoient¹⁵. Et fusmes jusques au plus destroit d'icelle^h, où l'on voyt la terre facilement de l'vng à l'autre¹⁶, et là commence soy alaiser. Et pource que ne faisons

^e In the MS. these two phrases are not of course thus separated off, but unless this is done, the sense is lost. Cf. Ramusio: *Noi andamo . . . sino alli cinque del detto mese. dall' una terra all' altra vi sono circa 15. leghe et il mezzo è in cinquanta & un terzo gradi di latitudine, et havemo difficulta grande di poter andar avanti*, etc.

^f Ramusio has, *leghe cinque*.

^g The MS. has only an illegible abbreviation. Ramusio has, *marea contraria*.

^h Ramusio has: *& non fumo avanti piu di quelle cinque leghe di dove si vedeva*, etc.

heavy head-winds and of the tides, that set against us¹⁵. And we made our way as far as the narrowest part of it, where one can easily see the shore on both sides¹⁶. There it begins to broaden out again. And as we kept continually falling off before the wind, we set out for the shore in our long-boats, to try and make our way as far as a cape on the south shore, which stretched out the longest and the farthest of any we saw from the water, the

¹⁵ With south-west winds a current of about a knot an hour sets eastward through the channel to the north of Anticosti. Cf. Bayfield, *op. cit.*, I, 20 and 26.

¹⁶ The distance from North point on Anticosti to Walrus island, one of the Mingan islands off the coast of Quebec, is only about fifteen miles.

que dechoir avaulx le vent, fusmes à terre avec nosdites barques, pour devoyr aller jusques à vng cap de ladite terre du su, qui estoit le plus long et le plus hors que nous vissions à la mer, où il y avoit envyron cinqⁱ lieues¹⁷. Et nous arrivez à ladite terre, trouvasmes que c'estoient rochers et fons curé, ce que n'avions trouvé par tous les lieux où avons esté devers le seu, depuis le cap saint Jehan^{k18}. Et à icelle heure y avoyt hebe, qui portoit contre-vent à oest, tellement, que en nageant le long de ladite couste, l'vne de noz barques toucha sus vng rocher, qui fut incontinent franchie, de sorte qu'il^l nous fallyt tous saulté hors pour la boutter à flot.

ⁱ Ramusio has, *quindici leghe*.

^k There is only an abbreviation in the MS. Ramusio has, *San Giovanni*.

^l Cf. Ramusio: *ma ci convenne*, etc.

distance to which was about five leagues¹⁷. On reaching the shore we found cliffs and a rocky bottom, which we had not met with in all the places visited towards the south since leaving cape St. John¹⁸. And at that hour the tide was running out, which caused a counter-current to the west, to such an extent that in rowing along that coast, one of our long-boats struck upon a rock, but we immediately cleared it, by all of us jumping out and pushing the boat into deep water.

¹⁷ North point on Anticosti island. Cf. Bayfield, *op. cit.*, I, 66: "North point . . . is so little remarkable as to be only distinguished by the change which takes place in the direction of the coast."

¹⁸ Cape Anguille in St. George's bay. *Vid.* p. 29 *supra*, note 3.

[COMMENT AYANS CONSULTÉ CE QUI ESTOIT LE PLUS EXPEDIENT DE FAIRE, DELIBERÈRENT DE SE RETOURNER; DU DESTROIT NOMMÉ SAINT PIERRE, ET DU CAP DE THIENNOT ^a.]

Et après que nous eusmes nagé le long de ladite couste envyron deux heures, le flot commença à faire, qui venoyt de l'oest contre nous si impetueusement, qu'il ne nous estoit poissible de gagner en avant la longueur d'un gy de pierre | avec treize advyrons. Et nous convint laisser lesdites barques, et partye de noz gens à les garder, et aller par terre, dix ou douze homnes, jusques audit cap¹, ouquel trouvâmes ladite terre commençoit à se rebatre au suruoest. Nous ayant ce veu, retournâmes avec nosdites barques, et vinsmes à noz navires, qui estoient à la voile, esperant tousiours gagner en avant, qui estoient deschez plus de quatre lieues aval le vent, de là où les avyons laissées. Et nous arrivez audit navire², assemblâmes tous les cappitaines, pillottes, maystres, et compagnons, pour avoyr l'oppinion et advys de ce qu'il

^a The Italian reads: *Come consultato quel ch'era piu espediente à fare deliberono di ritornarsi, del destretto nominato San Pietro, & del Capo di Tiennot.*

HOW AFTER DELIBERATING WHAT WAS BEST TO BE DONE, THEY DECIDED TO RETURN HOME; OF THE STRAIT CALLED ST. PETER'S STRAIT AND OF CAPE THIENNOT.

When we had rowed along the said coast for some two hours, the tide began to turn and came against us from the west so violently that it was impossible to make a stone's throw of headway with thirteen oars. And we deemed it advisable to leave the long-boats, with part of our men to stand guard over them, and for ten or twelve of us to go along the shore as far as that cape where we found that the coast began to turn off towards the south-west¹. When we had seen this, we made our way back to our long-boats and returned on board the ships, which were still under sail, hoping always to make headway; but they had drifted more than four leagues to leeward from the spot where we had left them. And on arriving on board the said vessel², we assembled all the captains, pilots, masters and sailors to have their

¹ North point, recently rechristened, *Cap de Rabast*. *Vid. 17th Report of the Geographic Board of Canada*, p. 29, Ottawa, 1922. *Vid. p. 101, infra.*

² No doubt Cartier's vessel.

estoit bon de faire. Et après avoyr, l'vng après l'autre dict que, conscideré les grant ventz d'avaulx qui commençoient, et que les marées estoient fortes, tellement, qu'ilz ne faisoient^b que decheoyr, et qu'il n'estoit possible de gagner outre en ceste saison; et aussi, que les tormentes commençoient en celluy temps en la Terre Neufve; et que nous estions encores bien loing, et ne sçavions les dangiers qui estoient entre deux, qu'il estoit bien temps de soy retirer, ou de demourer par là^c; neant et davantage, que si vne muayson de vent d'amond nous prenoyt, que c'estoit force de y demeurer. Après lesquelles oppinions prinses, fusmes arrivez large à nous en retourner. Et pource que le jour saint Pierre³, nous entrasmes dedans ledit destroit, nous le nonmasmes *le destroyt saint Pierre*⁴. Nous l'avons sondé en plusieurs lieux, et y avons treuvé, en aucuns, viii^{xx}^d brasses, et en aultre, cent, et plus près de terre, soixante et quinze^e brasses⁵, et partout fons curé⁶.

^b Ramusio has: *che non facevamo altro tutta hora che discadere*, etc.

^c Ramusio has: *overo fermarsi quivi per tutto il resto dell' anno*. Vid. *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, 2nd ser., III, i, p. 119, note 4. 1897.

^d Ramusio has, *cento cinquanta*.

^e Ramusio has, *sessanta*.

opinion and advice as to what was best to be done. When they had stated one after the other that, considering the heavy east winds that were setting in, and how the tides ran so strong that the vessels only lost way, it was not possible then to go farther; and also that as the storms usually began at that season in Newfoundland, and we were still a long way off, and did not know the dangers that lay between these two places, it was high time to return home or else to remain here for the winter; that nevertheless and moreover should a succession of east winds catch us, we should be obliged to remain. When these opinions had been heard, we decided by a large majority to return home. And as it was on St. Peter's day³ that we had entered that strait, we named it St. Peter's strait⁴. We sounded it in many places and found in some 160 fathoms, in others 100, and closer in shore seventy-five fathoms⁵, and everywhere clean bottom⁶.

³ Saturday, August 1.

⁴ This is the passage to the north of Anticosti. The name is correctly given on the Harleian mappemonde but Mercator's map places it to the south of the island. See Map No. VIII, p. 128.

⁵ The depths vary from 154 fathoms off Table Head to seventy fathoms between North point and Mingan island.

⁶ According to Bayfield (*op. cit.*, I, 25) the bottom, in the deep channel, is for the most part blue mud.

Et depuys ledit jour jusques au mecredi, eusmes vent à gré, et fort ventant, et reneasmes ladite terre du nort, est suest et
 68^r oest noruoest, car ainsi gist, fors vne | ance et cap de terre basses⁷, qui prent plus du suest, qui est envyron xxv lieues dudit destroit⁸, auquel lieu vismes des fumées que les gens de ladite terre faisoient sur ledit cap. Et pource que le vent chargeoyt à la couste, n'y aprochasmes; et eulx, voyans que n'y aprochions, viendrent avec deux barques, environ douze hommes, lesquelz vindrent aussi franchement à bort de noz navires comme s'ilz eussent esté françoys. Ilz nous firent entendre qu'ilz venoient de la Grant baye⁹, et qu'ilz estoient au cappitaine Thiennot,

From that day [Saturday, August 1] until Wednesday [August 5] we had a strong favourable wind and coasted this north shore east-south-east and west-north-west; for so it runs, except for a bight and a cape of low land⁷ that takes more of a south-easterly direction. It lies about twenty-five leagues from the strait⁸. On this [Natashkwan] point we saw smoke rising from fires that the inhabitants of the coast were making at that spot. But because the wind blew towards the shore, we did not approach it; and seeing we kept away, some twelve Indians set off in two canoes, and came as freely on board our vessels as if they had been Frenchmen. They gave us to understand that they had come from the Grand bay⁹, and that they were Chief Thiennot's people, who

⁷ Natashkwan harbour and point. Cf. Bayfield, *op. cit.*, I, 196: "A remarkable sandy promontory." The bight to the west of it leads to Natashkwan harbour.

⁸ *Saint-Pierre*, i.e. the passage north of Anticosti. Natashkwan point lies fifty-two miles from the Mingan islands, opposite the west end of Anticosti.

⁹ The strait of Belle Isle with that portion of the gulf of St. Lawrence lying just inside the strait. The name was a most natural one if it be borne in mind that those who first made their way from the Atlantic through this strait into the gulf were quite unaware both of the extension of that inland water as far as Cabot strait and of the existence of the river St. Lawrence. This west end of the strait naturally appeared to them therefore to form a "Big Bay." Cf. Appendix II, p. 283. It was this expedition of Cartier's which first made known the existence of open water over such a vast area and led to the supposition set forth on p. 35 *supra* that this was a gulf with another entrance between Cape Breton island and Newfoundland. *Vid.* Alfonse's maps in Harris, *op. cit.*, 225, N^o 74 and also N^{os} 67 and 80 at pp. 198 and 239-240; Lok's map in Hakluyt *Divers Voyages* (at p. 17 of which mention is made of

lequel estoit sur ledit cap, nous faisant signe qu'ilz s'en retournoyent en leurs païs, devers là où nous venyons; et que les navyres estoient appareillez de ladite baye, tous chargez de poisson¹⁰. Nous nonmasmes ledit cap, *le cap Thiennot*¹¹.

Dempuis celluy cap gist la terre est suest et ouaist noruoist; et sont toutes basses terres, bien belles, toutes rangées de sablons, où il y a la mer de arasiffes et basses, jusques envyron vingt lieues¹², où¹³ commence la terre à s'aterré à l'est et à l'est nordest, toute rangée d'isles, estantes à deux ou troys lieux loing de terre¹⁴, le parraige desquelles y a des basses dangereuses, à plus de quatre ou cinq lieues loing de terre.

himself was on the cape [Natashkwan], making signs to us that they were returning to their own country in the direction whence we were coming; and that the ships had all set sail from the [Grand] bay laden with fish¹⁰. We named that cape, cape Thiennot¹¹.

From this cape onward the coast runs east-south-east and west-north-west, and is a very fine low shore but bordered with sand-banks. There are also a great number of shoals and reefs for the space of some twenty leagues¹², when¹³ the coast begins to run east and east-north-east, and is all skirted with islands to a distance of two or three leagues off shore¹⁴. In the neighbourhood of these are dangerous reefs to a distance of more than four or five leagues from shore.

" Jacques Cartier's two voyages of discovering the grand bay "); Hakluyt's *Discourse concerning Western Planting*, 34, 38 and 88; and his *Principall Navigations* III, 134, 149, 186, 191 and 194; and finally Champlain's maps of 1612 and 1632. Cf. Plates I, V and VIII, pp. 1, 64 and 128.

¹⁰ This shows that other vessels, besides the one met with from La Rochelle, came yearly from France to the strait of Belle Isle for fish. *Vid.* p. 21 *supra*.

¹¹ Natashkwan point. The old name is given on the Harleian and Desce-liers mappemondes and on Mercator's map. The Desliens map has *C. de Nenot* and the Vallard map *C. Trenot*. Cf. also Belleforest, *op. cit.*, II, 2185.

¹² Cf. Bayfield, *op. cit.*, I, 188: " With the exception of the first 13 miles eastward of Natashkwan point, where the shore is of sand, this coast is of granite, which rises into steep hills and ridges, with rounded summits . . . The mainland is seldom higher than 200 feet, even at the heads of the bays, and it diminishes in height towards the sea, as do also the innumerable small islands, islets, and rocks, which fringe the coast."

¹³ At cape Whittle, sixty-two miles from Natashkwan point. *Vid.* p. 98 *infra*.

¹⁴ Cf. Bayfield, *op. cit.*, I, 188: " The innumerable small islands, islets, and rocks, which fringe the coast . . . in some parts extend fully 5 miles from the nearest point of the mainland."

[COMMENT LE NEUFIESME D'AOUST ENTRÈRENT
DEDANS BLANC SABLON, ET LE CINQUIESME DE
SEPTEMBRE, ARRIVÈRENT AU PORT DE SAINT-
MALO ^a.]

Despuis ledit mercredi jusques au samedi, eusmes grant vent de suruoist, et fismes porter à l'est nordest; et ledit jour vynmes querir la terre de l'oest ^b de Terre Neufve, entre les Granches¹ et le cap Double². Et alors le vent vint à l'est nordest en yre et tormente; et mysmes le cap au nort noruoist, et allasmes querir la bande du nort³, qui est, comme d'avent, toute rengée d'isles⁴. | Et nous estans jouxte ladite terre et isles, le vent

^a The Italian reads: *Come alli nove d'Agosto entrarono dentro Bianco Sabione, & alli cinque di Settembre arrivaron al porto San Malò.*

^b Ramusio has, *di levante di terra nuova.*

HOW ON AUGUST 9 THEY ENTERED BLANC SABLON AND ON SEPTEMBER 5 ARRIVED AT ST. MALO.

From the said Wednesday [August 5] until Saturday [August 8] we had a heavy south-west wind and ran east-north-east, and that day we reached the west coast of Newfoundland between the Barn mountains¹ and cape Double². And then the wind came out of the east-north-east with fury and violence, and we headed north-north-west and came to the north shore³, which is all bordered with islands like the part previously explored⁴. And when we were off this coast and its islands, the wind calmed down, and came out of the south; and we headed into the [Grand] bay⁵. And the next day [Sunday] August 9, we arrived at Blanc Sablon⁶, thanks be to God.

¹ The highlands of St. John. *Vid.* p. 25 *supra*.

² Rich Point. *Vid.* p. 24 *supra*.

³ The north shore of the gulf to the east of cape Whittle.

⁴ Cf. Bayfield, *op. cit.*, I, 143: "In some parts the islands and rocks are so numerous as to form a complete labyrinth."

⁵ *La Grande baie* i.e. the western end of the strait of Belle Isle, or perhaps *la baie des Châteaux*. *Vid.* pp. 9, 11, 13, 15, 24 and 76 *supra* and pp. 95-96 *infra*.

⁶ *Vid.* pp. 15-16 *supra*.

carmyt^e, et vint au su; et fismes porter dedans ladite baye⁵. Et le landemain, IX^{me} d'aoust, entrismes dedans Blanc Sablon⁶, [la grace à Dieu^d].

FIN DU DESCOUVREMENT.

Et depuis, sçavoyr le quinziesme jour d'aoust, jour et feste de l'Assumption Nostre Dame, partismes assemblément dudit hable de Blanc Sablon, après avoir messe, et avecques bon temps, vynmes jusques à la my mer d'entre Terre Neufve et Bretagne, auquel lieu eusmes, troys jours continuez, de grande tormente de ventz d'avaulx, laquelle, avec l'ayde^e de Dieu, nous souffrimes et endurasmes. Et depuis eusmes temps à gré, tellement, que arrivasmes au hable de Saint-Malo, dont estyons partiz, le V^e jour de septembre audit an.

^e Cf. Palsgrave, *op. cit.*, 172: "*Carme* for a calme wether"; and also *ibid.*, 202.

^d From Ramusio who has: *entramo dentro Bianco sabbione per lo (sic) Dio gratia, & questo è quanto habbiamo scoperto.*

^e Ramusio has, *con l'aiuto & laude di Dio.*

CONCLUSION OF THE DISCOVERY.

And afterwards, that is to say on [Saturday] August 15, the day and feast of the Assumption of Our Lady, we set forth together from the harbour of Blanc Sablon, after hearing mass, and made our way in fine weather as far as mid-ocean between Newfoundland and Brittany, where we experienced a heavy storm of east winds for three consecutive days, but by God's help we bore up under it and rode it out. And afterwards we had such favourable weather that we reached the harbour of St. Malo whence we had set forth, on [Saturday] September 5 in the said year [1534].

[LANGAGE DE LA TERRE NOUVELLEMENT DESCOU-
VERTE NOMMÉE LA NOUVELLE FRANCE¹.]

LANGUAGE OF THE LAND CALLED NEW FRANCE RECENTLY DISCOVERED

[Iddio.	Dieu	.....²	God.
Il Sole	Le Soleil.	Isnez ³ .	The Sun.
Idella ?[Stella].	Estoile ⁴ .	Suroé ⁵ .	Star.
Cielo.	Ciel.	Camet ⁵ .	The Heavens.
Giorno.	Jour.	.....	Day.
Notte.	Nuyt.	Aiagla ⁶ .	Night.
Acqua.	Eauë.	Ame. [H. Esmeu ⁷].	Water.
Sabbione.	Sablon.	Estogaz.	Sand.
Vela.	Voile.	Aganie.	Sail.
Testa.	Teste.	Agonazé ⁸ [I. Akenontsi].	Head.
Gola.	Gorge ⁹ .	Conguedo.	Throat.
Naso.	Nez.	Hehonguesto [H. Aongya ¹⁰].	Nose.
Denti.	Dents.	Hesangué ¹¹ [H. Asconchia].	Teeth.
Unghie.	Ongles.	Agetascu ¹¹ [H. Ohetta].	Nails.
Piedi.	Piedz.	Ochedasco ¹¹ [H. Achita I. Ositakon].	Feet.
Gambe.	Jambes.	Anoudasco ¹² [H. Anonta].	Legs.
Morto.	Mort.	Amocdaza.	Dead.
Pelle.	Peau.	Aionasca ¹³ [H. Auoitsa ¹⁴].	Skin.
Quello.	Celuy.	Yca [H. Ichi., I. Iken.].	That one.
Un manaretto.	Un hachot ¹⁵ .	Asogné [M. Atsochta ¹⁶].	A hatchet.
Molue pesce.	Molue.	Gadogourseré.	Codfish.
Buon da mangiar.	Bon à mangier.	Quesandé ¹⁷ .	Good to eat.
Carne.	Chair.	.....	Flesh.

¹ The Italian is: *Linguaggio della terra nuovamente scoperta, chiamata la nuova Francia*.

² Where blanks occur no Indian terms are given in Ramusio. Thevet in his list given in the *Grand Insulaire* has inserted here *Cudrani*. Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. fr. 15452, fol. 158.

³ The second Relation (p. 244 *infra*) gives *Ysnay*.

⁴ Such is the word given in Thevet's French list cited above note 2.

⁵ Cf. p. 244, *infra*. ⁶ The second Relation (p. 246, *infra*) gives *Anhena*.

⁷ The Iroquois terms [I] are taken from J. A. Cuq, *Lexique de la langue iroquoise* (Montréal, 1882); the Mohawk [M] from Von Curler's *Journal* in the *Report of the American Historical Association* for 1895 (Washington, 1896); the Huron [H] from Sagard's, *Dictionnaire de la langue huronne* (Paris, 1632); the Onondaga [On] from D. Zeisberger, *Indian Dictionary, etc.* (Cambridge, 1887); and the Cayuga [C], Oneida [O] and modern Mohawk [MM] from Schoolcraft, *Notes on the Iroquois*, pp. 264-281 (1851). ⁸ Cf. p. 241 *infra*.

⁹ Thevet (*loc. cit.*) has *bouche* but that word is given below p. 81.

¹⁰ Cuq (*op. cit.* 35) gives *Ononwetsa* for "nuque, cou, tête".

¹¹ Cf. pp. 241-242 *infra*. ¹² The original probably had *Anondasco*.

¹³ The original probably had *Aiouasca*. ¹⁴ Sagard gives this word for, *chair*.

¹⁵ Thevet *loc. cit.* has, *une petite hache* but cf. p. 243 *infra*.

¹⁶ Van Curler (*op. cit.*, 99) gives this word for "adze."

¹⁷ In Sagard for *Donne moy à manger*. Cuq (*op. cit.*, 21) has *Keskonte* for *rôtir*.

Amandole.	Amandes.	Anougaza ¹ .	Almonds.
Figghi.	Figues.	Asconda ² .	Figs.
Oro.	Or.	Henynosco.	Gold.
Il membro natural.	Le vit.	Assegnaga ³ .	Phallus.
Un arco.	Un arc.	.....	A bow.
Latone.	Laton.	Aignetazé ⁴ [M. Karistaji].	Laton.
La fronte.	Le front.	Anscé ⁵ [H. Ayeintsa].	The forehead.
Una piuma.	Une plume.	Yco.	A feather.
Luna.	La lune.	Casmogan.	Moon.
Terra.	Terre.	Conda ⁶ .	Earth.
Vento.	Vent.	Canut.	Wind.
Pioggia.	Pluye.	Onnoscon.	Rain.
Pane.	Pain.	Cacacomy ⁶ .	Bread.
Mare.	Mer.	Amet.	Sea.
Nave.	Navire.	Casaomy ⁷ .	Ship.
Huomo.	Homme.	Undo ⁸ .	Man.
Capelli.	Cheveux ⁹ .	Hochosco.	Hair.
Occhi.	Yeux.	Ygata [I. Okata].	Eyes.
Boca.	Bouche.	Heché.	Mouth.
Orecchie.	Oreilles.	Hontasco [H. Ahonta].	Ears.
		[I. Ohontakon].	
Braccia.	Bras.	Agescu.	Arm.
Donna.	Femme.	Enrasesco.	Woman.
Mallato.	Malade.	Alouedeché ¹⁰ [H. Ondecha- teni].	Ill.
Scarpe.	Souliers.	Atta [M. Achta, I. Ahta].	Shoes.
Una pelle da coprir le parti vergognose.	Une peau pour cou- vrir les parties hon- teuses.	Ouscozon uondico.	A skin to cover. the privy parts.
Panno rosso.	Drap rouge.	Cahoneta.	Red cloth.
Coltello.	Cousteau.	Agheda [M. Atoga, MM. Atokea]. ¹¹	Knife.
Sgombro.	Macquereau ¹² .	Agedoneta ¹³ .	Mackerel.
Noci.	Noix.	Caheya.	Nuts.
Pomi.	Pommes ¹⁴ .	Honesta ¹⁵ .	Apples.
Fave.	Fèves.	Sahé.	Beans.
Spada.	Espée.	Achesco.	Sword.
Una frezza.	Une fleche.	Cacta.	An arrow.
Arbore verde.	Arbre vert.	Haueda ¹⁶ .	Green tree.
Un pitaro di terre.	Un pot de terre.	Undaco [M. Ondach].]	An earthen dish.

¹ Thevet (*loc. cit.*) gives *Anougasa*.

² Cf. p. 63 *supra* and p. 242 *infra*.

³ Cf. p. 242 *infra*.

⁴ Cf. pp. 106 and 171 *infra*. Thevet (*loc. cit.*) gives *Aignetase*.

⁵ Cf. p. 241 *infra*.

⁶ Cf. p. 244 *infra*.

⁶ Sagard gives (*op. cit.*, 4) *Caracona* for biscuit.

⁷ Cf. p. 243 *infra* the phrase, *Allons au bateau*. Van Curler (*op. cit.*), p. 100 gives *Casoya*.

⁸ Cf. Sagard where *Ando* is given as "mon beau fils".

⁹ Thevet (*loc. cit.*) has here, *chapeau*.

¹⁰ Ramusio's -v can be read as -n.

¹¹ These are the words for axe.

¹² Thevet (*loc. cit.*) gives *congre*.

¹³ Thevet (*loc. cit.*) gives *agedoneda*.

¹⁴ Cf. p. 63 *supra* where this word is given for figs.

¹⁵ Sagard gives *Tonestes* for "prunes" and *Onesta* for "semence de citrouilles."

¹⁶ Here again Ramusio's -v should be -n.

CARTIER'S SECOND VOYAGE
1535-1536

EXPLANATION OF THE BRACKETS IN THE
FRENCH TEXT.

The French text here given is that of Manuscrit Français 5589 in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris called B.

Words or phrases found in the printed version which was published at Paris in 1545, called P, have been added in square brackets thus [].

Words found in MS. français 5653 in the Bibliothèque Nationale, called A, are given in square brackets with a star to the left thus* [].

Words found in MS. français 5644 in the Bibliothèque Nationale, called C, are given in square brackets with a star to the right thus []*.

Letters and words in round brackets should be omitted.

Further indications will be found in the lettered notes under the French text.

DEUXIÈME VOYAGE DE CARTIER, 1535-1536.

Seconde navigation faicte par le conmandement et vouloir du Très-Chrestien Roy François, premier de ce nom, au parachevement^a de la descouverte des terres occidentalles, estantes soubz le climat¹ et paralleles des terres et royaume dudict seigneur, et par luy precedamment ja conmancées à faire decouvrir; icelle navigation faicte par Jacques Cartier, natif de Saint Malo de l'isle² en Bretagne, pillote dudict seigneur, en l'an mil cinq cens trante six. | Fol. E^v

AU ROY TRÈS-CHRESTIEN³.

1^r

Considérant, ô mon très-redoubté prince, les grant[z]^b bien et don de grace qu'il a pleu à Dieu, le Créateur, faire à ses créatures, et entre les aultres de mettre et asseoirs le soleil, qui est

^a A has, *parachement*.

^b P has, *grandz*.

CARTIER'S SECOND VOYAGE, 1535-1536.

The second Voyage undertaken by the command and wish of the Most Christian King of France, Francis the First of that name, for the completion of the discovery of the western lands, lying under the same climate¹ and parallels as the territories and kingdom of that prince, and by his orders already begun to be explored: this expedition carried out by Jacques Cartier, native of St. Malo on the Island², in Brittany, pilot of the aforesaid prince, in the year 1536.

TO THE MOST CHRISTIAN KING³.

Considering, O my most redoubted Prince, the great benefits and favours it has pleased God, the Creator, to grant to His creatures, and amongst others to place and fix the sun, upon which the

¹ The "climate" was the zone of latitude of the ancient geographers within which the day was approximately of the same length.

² At that time St. Malo was only connected with the mainland by the *sillon* or ridge of sand.

³ Francis I. I can find no authority for the statement of the Quebec editor (p. IV), that this dedication was composed by Belleforest, though it is doubtful if Cartier was the author. One would be more inclined to name Jehan Poullet.

la vie et congnoissance de toutes icelles, et sans lequel nul ne peult fructifier ny générer e l lieu et place, là où il a son mouvement et déclinaison, contraire et non semblable aux^c aultres planectes; par lesquelz mouvement et déclinaison, toutes créatures estantes sur la terre, en quelque lieu et place qu'elles puissent estre, en ont, ou en pevent avoir, en l'an dudict souleil, qui est 365 jours et six heures, aultant de veue occulaire, les vngs que les aultres; non qu'il soit tant chault et ardent es vngs lieux que es aultres, par ses rayz et réverbérations, ny la division des jours et nuictz en parreille égalité; mais suffist qu'il est^d de telle sorte et tant tempérement, que toute la terre est, ou peult estre habitée en quelque zone, climat, ou parallèl: que ce soit; et icelle[s] avecq les eaulx, arbres, herbes et toutes autres créatures, de quelque[s] genre[s] ou espece[s] qu'elles soient, par l'influence d'iceluy souleil, donner fructz et gennérations, selon leurs natures, pour^e la vie et nourriture des créatures humaines. Et si aucuns vouloint

^c P has, *es*.

^d P has, *y ayt*; C, *y est*. This dedication is omitted in A.

^e P has, *par* which C has copied.

lives and existence of all depend, and without which none can bring fourth fruit nor generate, at that place where it is, where it moves and sets in a motion contrary and different from that of the other planets, by which rising and setting all the creatures on earth, no matter where they live, are able in the sun's year, which is 365 days and six hours, to have as much visual sight of it, the one as the other. Not that its beams and rays are as warm and hot in some places as in others, nor the division of days and nights of like equality everywhere, but it suffices that its heat is of such a nature and so temperate that the whole earth is or may be inhabited, in any zone, climate or parallel whatsoever, and that these zones, with their waters, trees, plants and all other creatures of whatever kind or sort they be, may through the sun's influence, give forth fruit and offspring according to their natures for the life and sustinence of humanity. And should any persons wish to uphold the contrary of the above, by quoting the statements of the wise philosophers of ancient times, who have written that the earth was divided into five zones, three of which they affirmed to be uninhabitable, namely the torrid zone which lies between the two tropics

dire le contraire de ce que dessus, en allégant le dict des saiges philozofes du temps passé, qui ont escript et faict division de la terre par cinq zones, dont ilz ont dict et affermé troys inhabitables^f, c'est assavcir, la zone toride, qui est entre les deux tropiques ou solistiques, pour la grant chaleur et réverbération du souleil, qui passe par le zenill^g [des testes des habitans] de ladicte zone, et les deux zones artique et antartique, pour la grant fr[o]ideur qui est en icelles, à cause du peu d'élévation qu'ilz ont dudict souleil, et autres raisons, je confesse qu'ilz ont escript de la manière, et croy fermement qu'ilz le pensoint^h ainsi, et qu'ilz le trouvoientⁱ par aucunes raisons naturelles, là où ilz prenoient leur fondement, et d'icelles^j se contentoint seulement, sans aventurer ny mettre leurs personnes aux^k dangers | esquelz ilz eussent^{lv}

^f P has, *dont ilz dient & afferment trois inhabitées*; C, *dont ilz en dient*, etc. as in B.

^g P has, *zenic*; C, *zenit*.

^h P has, *pensent*.

ⁱ P has, *trouvent*.

^j P has, *d'icelluy*.

^k P has, *es*.

or solstices, on account of the great heat and the reflection of the sun's rays, which passes over the heads of the inhabitants of that zone, and the arctic and antarctic zones, on account of the great cold which exists there, owing to their small elevation above the said sun's horizon, I confess that they have so written and firmly believe they were of that opinion, which they formed from some natural reasonings whence they drew the basis of their argument, and with these contented themselves without adventuring or risking their lives in the dangers they would have incurred, had they tried to test their statements by actual experience. But I shall simply reply that the prince of those philosophers left among his writings a brief maxim of great import, to the effect that "Experience is the master of all things⁴," by which teaching I have dared to set before the eyes of Your Majesty this preface as an introduction to this little work; for the simple mariners of to-day, not being so afraid at your royal command to run the risk of those perils and dangers, as were the ancients; and being desirous of doing you some humble service to the increase of the most

⁴ The saying is Aristotle's. Cf. *Metaphysics* I, 4.

peu encheoirs à chercher l'expérience de leur dire. Mais je diray¹ pour ma replicque, que le prince d'iceulx philosophes a lessé, par my ses escriptures, vng bref mot de grande conséquence, qui dict que *experientia^m est rerum magistra⁴*; par l'enseignement duquel, j'ay ozé entreprendre de adrecer à la veue de vostre magesté roialle cestuy propos, en manière de prologue de ce myen petit labour; car, suyvant vostre roial commandement, les simples mariniers de présent, non ayans eu tant de craincte d'eulxⁿ mectre en^o l'aventure d'iceulx perilz et dangers qu'ilz ont eu et ont desir de vous faire très-humble service, à l'augmentation de la très-saincte foy chrestienne, ont congneu le contraire d'icelle oppinion desdictz philozophes, par vraye expérience.

J'ay allegué^p ce que davant, pource que je regarde que le soleil, qui, chaincun jour, se lieve à l'orient et se reconse^a à l'occident, faict^r le tour et circuyt de la terre⁵, donnant lumière

¹ P has, *dictz*.

^m From P. B has, *experiantia*.

ⁿ C has, *de soy*.

^o P has, *à*.

^p P has, *Je allegue*.

^a C has, *retire*.

^r From P and C. B has, *faisant*.

holy Christian faith, have convinced themselves by actual experience of the unsoundness of that opinion of the ancient philosophers.

I have set forth the above for the reason that just as the sun which rises every day in the east and sets in the west, goes round and makes the circuit of the earth⁵, giving light and heat to everyone in twenty-four hours, which is a natural day, without any interruption of its movement and natural course, so I, in my simple understanding, and without being able to give any other reason, am of opinion that it pleases God in His divine goodness, that all human beings inhabiting the surface of the globe, just as they have sight and knowledge of the sun, have had and are to have in time to come knowledge of and belief in our holy faith. For first our most holy faith was sown and planted in the Holy Land, which is in Asia to the east of our Europe, and afterwards by succession of time, it has been carried and proclaimed to us, and at length to the west of our Europe, just like the sun, carry-

⁵ Copernicus did not publish his, *De revolutionibus orbium cælestium* until 1543.

et challeur à tout le monde en vingt quatre heures, qui est vng jour naturel, sans aucune interruption de son mouvement et cours naturel. A l'exemple de quoy^s, je pense en mon simple^t entendement, et sans autre raison y alleguer, qu'il pleust^u à Dieu, par sa divine bonté, que toutes humaines créatures, estantes et habitantes sur le globe^v de la terre, ainsi qu'elles ont veue et congnoessance d'iceluy souleil, aint eu et ayent pour le temps à venir, congnoissance et créance de nostre sainte foy. Car premièrement icelle nostre très-sainte foy a esté semée et plantée en^w la Terre Sainte, qui est en l'Asye, à l'orient de nostre Europe, et d'empuis, par succession de temps, apportée et divulguée jucques à nous; et finalement en^w l'occident de nostredicte Europe, à l'exemple dudict souleil, portant sa clarté et challeur d'orient en occident, comme dict est. Et parreillement auxi avons veu icelle nostre très-sainte foy, par pluseurs foyz, à l'occasion | des meschans 2^r

■ P has, *duquel* which C has copied.

^t P has, *à mon foible*.

^u P has, *plaist*, which C has copied.

^v From P. B has, *clobe*: P, *soubz le globe*.

^w P has, *à*.

ing its light and its heat from east to west, as already set forth. And likewise also, we have seen this most holy faith of ours in the struggle against wicked heretics and false law-makers here and there sometimes go out and then suddenly shine forth again and exhibit its brightness more clearly than before. And even now at present, we see how the wicked Lutherans, apostates and imitators of Mahomet, from day to day strive to cloud it over and finally to put it out altogether, if God and the true members of the same did not guard against this with capital punishment⁶, as one sees daily by the good regulations and orders you have instituted throughout your territories and kingdom. Likewise also one sees the princes of Christendom and the true pillars of the Catholic church, unlike the above infants of Satan, striving day by day to extend and enlarge the same, as the Catholic king

⁶ The first Huguenot executed seems to have been Jacques Pauvan burnt at Paris in August, 1528. During the winter of 1534-1535 however some twenty-four persons met a similar fate in the affair of the Posters. *Vid* H. M. Baird, *History of the Rise of the Huguenots*, I, 89-90 and 178, note 3, London, 1880.

hérétiques et faulx législateurs^x, eclipser en aucuns lieux, et dempuis soubdainement^y reluire et monstrier sa clarté plus appertement que auparavant. Et maintenant vncores à présent, voions comme les meschans Lutheriens, [apostatz et imitateurs de Mahonnet], de jour en aultre, s'efforcent d'icelle obnubiller^z, et finalement du tout estaindre, si Dieu et les vrayz suppostz d'icelle n'y donnoient^a ordre par mortelle justice⁶, ainsi que on voit faire chaincun jour en voz pays et royaume, par [le] bon ordre et police que y avez mys. Parreillement auxi voit on comme, au contraire d'iceulx enfens de Satan, les princes^b chrestiens et vrayz pilliers de l'Eglise catolicque s'efforcent, de jour en aultre, d'icelle augmenter et acroistre, ainsi que a faict le catholicque Roy d'Espaigne⁷ es terres qui, par son commandement, ont esté descouvertes à^o l'occidant de ses pays et royaume[s, les]quelles, auparavant, nous estoient incongneues, estranges et hors de nostre foy, comme la Neufve Espaigne, l'Ysabelle, Terre Ferme⁸ et aultres ysles,

^x From P. B and C have, *legistateurs*.

^y C has, *semblablement*.

^z P has, *opprimer*.

^a P has, *donnent*.

^b P has, *paoures*.

^o P has, *en*.

of Spain⁷ has done in the countries discovered to the west of his lands and kingdoms, which before were unknown to us, unexplored and without the pale of our faith, as New Spain, Isabella, the Spanish Main⁸ and other islands, where innumerable peoples have been found, who have been baptized and brought over to our most holy faith.

And now through the present expedition undertaken at your royal command for the discovery of the lands in the west formerly unknown to you and to us, lying in the same climates and parallels as your territories and kingdom, you will learn and hear of their

⁷ Charles V.

⁸ New Spain was Mexico: Isabella is the name given to Cuba on the Waldseemüller map, while the Spanish Main embraced the coast from the isthmus of Panama to the mouth of the Orinoco.

où on a trouvé innumerable peuple(s), qui a esté baptisé et reduict à^c nostre très-sainte foy.

Et maintenant en la présente navigation, faicte par vostre roial conmandement, en la descouverte des terres occidentalles, estantes soubz les clymatz et paralelles de voz pays et roiaulme, non auparavant à vous ny à nous congneues, pourrez veoirs et savoir la bonté et fertillité d'icelle[s], la innumerable cantité des peuples y habitans, la bonté et paisibleté d'iceulx, et pareillement la fécondité du grant fleuve⁹ qui decourt^d et arouse le parmy d'icelles voz terres, qui est le plus grant sans conparaison, que on saiche jamais avoir veu. [Les]quelles choses donnent à ceulx qui les ont veues, certaine espérance de l'augmentation future de nostredicte très-sainte foy, [&] de voz seigneuries et nom^{d1} très-chrestien, ainsi qu'il | vous plaira veoir par ce[stuy] present petit^{2v} livre, auquel sont amplement contenues toutes les choses dignes de memoire que avons veues et qui nous sont avenues, tant en faisant ladicte navigation que estans et faisans séjour en vosdictz pays et terres, les rottes, dangers et gisemens d'icelles terres.

C'est la rivière
de Canada

^d P has, *descend*.

^{d1} From P and C. B has *non*.

fertility and richness, of the immense number of peoples living there, of their kindness and peacefulness, and likewise of the richness of the great river⁹, which flows through and waters the midst of these lands of yours, which is without comparison the largest river that is known to have ever been seen. These things fill those who have seen them with the sure hope of the future increase of our most holy faith and of your possessions and most Christian name, as you may be pleased to see in this present booklet wherein is fully set forth everything worthy of note that we saw or that happened to us both in the course of the above voyage and also during our stay in those lands and territories of yours, as well as the routes, dangers and situation of those lands.

⁹ The St. Lawrence.

3^r Le dimanche, jour et feste de la Pandecoste, XVI^{me} jour de may, en l'an^e mil cinq cens trente cinq, du commandement du^f cappitaine¹⁰ et bon vouloir de tous, chascun^g se confessa, et ressumes tous ensemblement Nostre Créateur en l'église cathedra[e]l dudict^h Saint Malo. Après lequel avoir receu, fumes nous présenter au cueur de ladicte église, davant révérand père en Dieu Monseigneurⁱ de Saint Malo, lequel, en son estat episcopal, nous donna sa bénédiction¹¹.

^e From P and C. A and B have, *audict an.*

^f C has, *de nostre.*

^g In the dedication, which however may be by another hand, there is, *chaincun.* Elsewhere in B and C there is always a contraction. A and P give the spelling in the text.

^h P and C have, *de.*

ⁱ P has, *monsieur.*

On Sunday, May 16, the day and feast of Whitsuntide, in the year 1535, by command of the Captain¹⁰ and the willing consent of all, each confessed himself and we all received our Creator together in the Cathedral of St. Malo. After communion we went and kneeled in the choir of the church before the Reverend Father in God Monseigneur St. Malo who, in his episcopal state, gave us his benediction¹¹.

¹⁰ Jacques Cartier.

¹¹ Denis Briçonnet, who had been made bishop of St. Malo in 1513, suffered towards the close of his life so much in health that on December 31, 1534, Francis I gave permission for the former's nephew, "François Bohier, abbé de l'abbaye de Nostre Dame de Bernay, de l'ordre saint Benoist," to take possession of the see. On January 5, 1535, this man took the oath of fidelity before the king at Paris. It was he who officiated on this occasion. Briçonnet died on 18 December, 1535. *Vid.* Archives de la Loire-Inférieure, série B 52, fols. 93^v-94; P. P. B. Gams, *Series episcoporum ecclesiæ catholicæ*, etc., 618, Ratisbonæ, 1873; and Guy Bretonneau, *Histoire généalogique de la maison des Briçonnet*, 39 and 225-278, Paris, 1620. In 1891 the following inscription was placed in the floor of the Cathedral by the late Honoré Mercier:

Ici
s'est agenovillé
Jacques Cartier
Povr recevoir la bénédiction
de l'évêque de Saint Malo
A son départ povr la découverte
dv Canada le 16 mai 1535.

Et le mercredi ensuivant, dix-neufviesme jour [dudict moys]* de may, le vent vint bon et convenable; et appareillames avecq lesdictz troys navires, savoir: la *Grand Hermyne*, du port de envyron cent à vi^{xx} thonneaulx, où estoit ledict cappitaine-général, et pour maistre Thomas Fromont¹², Claude de^j Pontbryand, filz du seigneur de Montreal¹³ et eschansson de monseigneur le Daulphain¹⁴, Charles de La Pommeraye¹⁵, [Jehan Poulet]¹⁶, et aultres gentilzhommes. Au second navire, nommé la *Petite Hermyne*, du port de envyron soixante thonneaulx, estoit cappitaine, soubz ledict Cartier¹⁷, Macé Jalobert¹⁸, et maistre Guillaume Le Maryé¹⁹, et au tiers et plus petit navire, nommé l'*Hemerillon*, du port de envyron xl thonneaulx, en estoit cappitaine Guillaume Le Breton²⁰, et maistre Jaques Maingart²¹. Et

^j P, C and A have *du*. *Vid.* p. 148.

And on the Wednesday following, May 19, the wind came fair and in our favour and we set sail with three vessels, namely, the *Great Ermine* of some 100 to 120 tons' burden, on board of which sailed the Commander, [Cartier] with Thomas Fromont¹² as mate, and Claud de Pontbriant¹³, son of the Lord of Montreal, and cup-bearer to His Highness the Dauphin¹⁴, Charles de La Pommeraye¹⁵, John Poulet¹⁶, and other gentlemen. In the second ship called the *Little Ermine* of about sixty tons' burden, went as captain under Cartier¹⁷, Macé Jalobert¹⁸ and William

¹² He was from La Bouille near Rouen. *Vid.* Joüon des Longrais, *Jacques Cartier*, p. 128, Paris, 1888.

¹³ Although P has, *Montreuil*, in all probability he was the son of Pierre de Pontbriant, seigneur de Montréal in the department of the Gers, who was captain of the famous castle of Bergerac under Francis I. François de Pontbriant, governor and seneschal of Limousin under Henri II, was doubtless his eldest brother. *Vid.* M. Lainé, *Archives généalogiques et historiques de la noblesse de France*, tome 1^{er}, art. Pontbriant, pp. 7 *et seq.* Paris, 1828; and *Biblioth. Nat.*, Cabinet des titres, Pièces originales, vol. 2334, n^{os} 52,557, n^{os} 50, 57-63, 68-70 and 73-75 and Carrés d'Hozier, vol. 505, fol. 145.

¹⁴ *Vid.* p. 36 *supra* note 21.

¹⁵ According to M. Joüon des Longrais (*op. cit.*, p. 142 note 1) he was a nephew of Olivier de La Pommeraye, canon of St. Malo and archdeacon of Dinan.

¹⁶ Though this man's name does not occur in any of the MSS. he was in all probability the redactor of this and of the former Relation. He hailed from Dol near St. Malo. *Vid.* Biggar, *Early Trading Companies*, p. 215 and note.

¹⁷ This is the only mention of Cartier by name in the whole Relation. It is not surprising therefore that the edition of 1545 was not at first connected with him and his voyages.

3^v navigasmes avecq bon temps | jusques au vingt sixiesme^k jour dudict moys de may, que le temps se tourna en yre et tormente, qui nous a duré, en ventz contraires et serraions, autant que jamais navires qui passassent ladicte mer, eussent, sans aucun amandement, tellement que le vingt cinquiesme¹ jour de jung, par ledict mauveys temps et serraion, nous entreperdymes tous troys, sans que nous ayons eu nouvelles les vngs des aultres jusques à la Terre Neufve, là où [nous] avyons limytté nous trouver tous ensemble.

Et depuis nous estre entreperduz, avons esté avecq la nef générale par la mer, de tous ventz contraires, jusques au VII^e jour [du moys] de juillet, que nous arrivasmes à ladicte Terre Neufve, et prinsmes terre à l'isle es^m Oyseaulx²², laquelleⁿ est

^k P has, 20.

¹ C has, XXVI^{me}.

^m P has, *aux*.

ⁿ C has, *qui*.

Le Marié¹⁹ as mate; and as captain of the third and smallest vessel named the *Merlin* of some forty tons' burden, went William Le Breton²⁰ with Jack Maingard as mate²¹. We sailed on in fine weather until [Wednesday] May 26, when it turned bad and stormy and continued so for such a long time with incessant headwinds and overcast sky that no ships that have crossed the ocean ever had more of it; so much so that on [Friday] June 25, on account of this bad weather and lowering sky, we all three became separated and had no news of one another until we reached Newfoundland, where we had agreed to meet.

And after separation, we in the commander's vessel had continual headwinds until [Wednesday], July 7, when we sighted Newfoundland and made land at the isle of Birds²², which lies

¹⁸ He was married to Alison des Granches, the sister of Cartier's own wife. It is possible that Hermine Jalobert was his sister and that we have here the origin of the name of the two larger vessels. *Vid.* Joïon des Longrais, *op. cit.*, 130.

¹⁹ The father of Jean Le Marié, a canon of St. Malo.

²⁰ The son of Guillaume Le Breton, sieur de La Bastille near Limoilou at Paramé. *Vid.* also p. 54 *supra* note 4.

²¹ The son of Allain Maingard and Collette des Granches.

²² Funk island which Cartier had already visited on the first voyage. *Vid.* p. 6 *supra*.

à xiiii lieues de la grand terre. Quelle^o ysle est si très-plaine d'oiseaulx, que tous les navires de France y pourroyent facilement charger sans que on s'apperceust qu[e l']on en eust tiré; et là en prinsmes deux barquées^p, pour parties de noz victailles²³. Icelle ysle est en l'eslevation du polle en quarente neuf degrez, quarente mynutttes²⁴. Et le VIII^e jour dudict moys, nous appareillames de ladite ysle, et avecq bon temps vinsmes au hable²⁵ de Blanc Sablon, estant en^a la baye des Chasteaulx²⁶, le quinzième jour dudict moys, qui est le lieu où nous devyons randre. Auquel lieu fumes attendans noz compaignons, jusques au vingt sixiesme jour | dudict moys, [lequel jour^r] ilz arrivèrent tous deulx^{4r} ensemble; et là nous acoustrasmes et prinsmes eauës, boys et aultres choses nécessaires. Et appareillasmes et fymes voile pour

^o C has, *laquelle*.

^p P has, *barques*.

^a P and C have, *à*.

^r From P. A, B and C have, *moys, qu'ilz, etc.*

fourteen leagues from the main shore. This island is so exceeding full of birds that all the ships of France might load a cargo of them without one perceiving that any had been removed. We took away two boat-loads to add to our stores²³. This island lies in latitude 49° 40' N²⁴. On [Thursday], July 8, we set sail in fine weather from this island, and on [Thursday] the fifteenth of that month reached the harbour of Blanc Sablon²⁵, lying inside the bay of Castles²⁶, which was the point where we had agreed to meet. We stayed there awaiting our consorts until [Monday] the twenty-sixth of the month, on which day they both arrived together. Here we refitted and took on board wood, fresh water and other necessities. And at daybreak on [Thursday] the twenty-ninth of that month, we made sail and got under way to continue our voyage; and headed along the north shore [of the gulf], which ran east-north-east and west-south-west, until about eight o'clock in the evening, when we lowered sail opposite to two islands²⁷ which stretch farther out than the others. These we

²³ Cf. *supra* p. 7, note 6.

²⁴ Funk island lies in latitude 49° 45' 29" N.

²⁵ Lescarbot, *op. cit.*, 1609, p. 295 has added: "L'auteur écrit ainsi ce que nous disons havre." It is still called by the same name. *Vid* p. 15 *supra*.

²⁶ The strait of Belle Isle. *Vid*. p. 9 *supra*.

²⁷ Dukes and Shagg islands near Cumberland harbour.

passer oultre, le vingt neufviesme jour dudict moys, à l'aube du jour; et fismes porter le long de la coste du nort, gisant est nord-est et ouaist surouaist^s, jusques envyron les huict heures du soir, que mismes les voilles bas, le travers de deulx ysles²⁷ qui s'avansent plus hors que les aultres, que nous nommasmes, *les ysles saint Guillaume*²⁸, lesquelles^t sont envyron vingt lieues oultre le hable de Brest²⁹. Le tout de ladicte coste, dempuis les Chasteaulx²⁶ jusques icy, gist est nordest et ouaist surouaist, rangée de plusieurs ysles et terres, toute hachée et pierreuse, sans aucunes terres ny boys, fors en aucunes vallées³⁰.

^s P has always, *Ornaist*, *Surnaist*, etc. *Vid.* Joüon des Longrais, *op. cit.*, 129, note 1. ^t P has, *Et*.

named "St. William's islands"²⁸. They lie about twenty leagues beyond the harbour of Brest²⁹. The whole coast from the Castles²⁶ to this point runs east-north-east and west-south-west, and is bordered with numerous islands. The shore is broken and rocky having no soil nor timber except in some of the valleys³⁰.

On the following day, the last but one of the month³¹, we sailed westward to examine some other islands³², which lay some twelve leagues and a half from us. Between the two groups of islands, the coast forms a bight running north³³, full of islands

²⁸ The festival of St. William, bishop of St. Brioux near St. Malo fell on that day.

²⁹ Bonne Espérance harbour. *Vid.* p. 17 *supra*.

³⁰ *Cf.* Bayfield, *op. cit.*, I, 143, cited *supra* p. 22, note 8.

³¹ Friday, July 30.

³² Great Mecatina and the islands about it i.e. Treble Hill, Flat, Dukes and Murr islands which lie off cape Mecatina. The latter is fifty-five miles from cape Whittle. *Cf.* Bayfield, *op. cit.*, I, 167: "Great Mecattina island, about 3½ miles long, north and south, and about 3 miles wide, is distant rather more than 2 miles from . . . the nearest part of the mainland to the north-west. Treble Hill island lies E. by S., about 3 miles from the centre of [Great Mecatina] island; Flat island lies S.S.E. ½ E. 3 miles from the south point [of Great Mecatina]. Treble Hill and Flat islands are quite bold all round."

³³ Ha-Ha bay. *Cf.* Bayfield, *op. cit.*, I, 166: "The bay runs in about eight miles, N.E. by N."

³⁴ *Ibid.* I, 163-164: "The coast between Mistanoque island and cape Mecattina is broken into large bays and inlets, between large islands of moderate height . . . and partially covered with moss. Many smaller islands, islets, and

qm est lemo signe de foie et se pondeur d'ansse et
 d'antre come auvent de constance maye et separation
 d'epous fangeagne et Demagaya. Dient and rappm
 que fident Demarona ne venlent point que
 ml d'ely. alast a Gorchaga. antiques luy se mo
 baillet plage qm demouast a l'ore. anty adut
 Demarona d'quoy l'emo feppondut se rappm
 que pl nestent d'elberg y allest de bon romage
 qm demouast et que pour d'ely ne fassent
 mltre paine y allest

vennent se Cappre et tous les g'itly g'itly
 anty Cingente m'arimides p'furent d'ely.
 p'romynte de Caneda. anty se g'allen
 et d'ely d'ely d'ely pour allest
 Gorchaga. Et d'ely qm fut ven. anty d'ely
 fut d'ely f'elmo f.

Le landemain, penultime jour dudict moys³¹, nous fimes courrir à ouaist, pour avoir congnoissance d'aultres ysles³², qui nous demouroyent envyron douze lieues et demyes; entre lesquelles ysles se faict vne conche^u vers le nort³³, toute à ysles et grandes bayes^v, apparessantes y avoir plusieurs bons hables³⁴. Nous^w les nommasmes les *ysles sainte Martre*³⁵; hors | lesquelles, ^{4v} envyron vne lieue et demye à la mer, y a vne basse³⁶ bien donge-reuse, où il y a quatre ou cinq testes, qui demeurent le travers desdictes bayes, en la routte d'est et ouaist desdictes ysles saint Guillaume³⁷, et aultres ysles³⁸, qui demeurent à ouaist surouaist

^u P has always, *couche*.

^v P has, *grande voye*.

^w P and C have, &.

and large bays where to all appearance are some good harbours³⁴. We named these islands "St. Martha's islands"³⁵. About a league and a half from them lies a very dangerous shoal³⁶, and in the course east and west from St. William's islands³⁷ are four or five patches lying off the above bays. Some seven leagues to the west-south-west of St. Martha's islands³⁵ lie more islands³⁸ which we reached that day about one o'clock in the afternoon.

rocks are interspersed, and outside all the coast is lined with small islets, rocks, or ledges, in groups, or scattered here and there . . . The entrances from the sea to these channels and bays, through the outer islets and rocks are in general too intricate for any directions to be of use."

³⁵ P has always, *Marthe*, whose festival fell on Thursday July 29. The islands were Great Mecatina, Treble Hill, Flat, Dukes, etc. as given in note 32.

³⁶ Murr rocks. Cf. *ibid.* I, 167: "The two Murr islets lie S.W., about 4 miles from the same [South] point of Great Mecattina island. These islets are about a quarter of a mile apart . . . Murr rocks are two small and low rocks above water, lying about half a mile S.S.E. from the southern of Murr islets. A ledge on which the sea generally breaks lies N.E. by E., more than a quarter of a mile from the eastern of Murr rocks."

³⁷ Dukes and Shagg islands. *Vid* pp. 95-96.

³⁸ Little Mecatina and the Harrington islands. Cf. *ibid.*, I, 171: "Little Mecattina island is comparatively large, being nearly $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles long, in a N.N.E. direction, and about 3 miles wide. De Salaberry bay, on its west side, cuts it nearly in two parts. All outside the narrows isthmus, namely two-thirds of the island, is high and remarkable land, which can be seen from a great distance out at sea long after the other islands have disappeared below the horizon;" and also p. 177: "Harrington islands extend northward 4 miles . . . The longest of these islands is about $1\frac{1}{4}$ miles long, and several of the others are nearly as large. They are high islands, the highest being estimated at 300 feet above the sea."

des ysles sainte Martre³⁵, envyron sept lieues, lesquelles ysles nous vinsmes querir ledict jour, envyron vne heure apres midi. Et depuis ledict jour jusques à l'orloge virante³⁹, fumes^x couryr envyron quinze lieues, jusque le travers d'un cap⁴⁰ d'isles basses, que nous nommasmes *les ysles saint Germain*⁴¹. Au suest duquel cap, envyron troys lieues, y a vne aultre basse⁴², fort dongereuse; et pareillement entre ledict cap saint Germain⁴³ et sainte Martre⁴⁴, y a vng banc, hors desdictes ysles envyron deux lieues, sus lequel n'y a que quatre brasses⁴⁵. Et pour le dongier de ladicte coste, mismes les voilles bas, et ne fismes porter ladicte nuyct⁴⁶.

^x P and C have, *feismes*.

And from that hour until the change of watch³⁹, we made some fifteen leagues till we came opposite to a cape⁴⁰ on some low islands, which we named "St. German's islands"⁴¹. Some three leagues to the south-east of this cape lies another very dangerous shoal⁴², and likewise between the said cape St. German⁴³ and St. Martha's islands⁴⁴, some two leagues from the latter, lies a shoal on which

³⁹ Probably eight o'clock in the evening; for though some of the sand glasses only took one hour to empty, others lasted three and four hours. Cf. Père Georges Fournier, *Hydrographie* (Paris, 1643), p. 30: "Une horloge de trois ou quatre heures," Florio has "until midnight," after Ramusio who gives, *infino a mezza notte*.

⁴⁰ Cape Whittle, 128 miles from Blanc Sablon. *Vid.* the photograph in Townsend, *op. cit.* 118.

⁴¹ Wapitagun, Outer Wapitagun and Lake islands. Cape Whittle forms the south-western extremity of the latter. The festival of St. German, bishop of Auxerre, fell on Saturday, July 31. Cf. Bayfield, *op. cit.*, I, 184: "Outer Wapitagun islands . . . are of bare granite, about 70 or 80 feet high . . . The south shore of Lake island, between cape Whittle [its south-western extremity] and Cormorant point, its south-east extreme, is very remarkable, being quite straight in an E. by S. $\frac{1}{2}$ S. direction, and composed of craggy cliffs of dark red granite, upwards of 100 feet in height, stained white by the cormorants.

⁴² South Makers ledge, six miles and a half S. E. of cape Whittle. Cf. Bayfield, *op. cit.*, I, 183-184: "South Makers ledge is a small rock, which is never entirely covered when the sea is smooth. Its whole extent, above and under water is $1\frac{1}{3}$ cables east and west, by half a cable north and south . . . The soundings are very irregular round this ledge."

⁴³ Cape Whittle.

⁴⁴ Boat islands are meant but as no name had been given to them, nor to Little Mecatina and the Harrington islands, the isles St. Martha (i.e. Great Mecatina, etc.) are mentioned, as they were the only ones to which a name had been given.

Le landemain, dernier jour de juillet, fismes couryr le long de ladicte coste, qui gist est et ouaist, quart du suest, laquelle^y est toute rangée d'isles et basses, et coste fort dongereuse; [la]quelle contient, dempuys ledict cap des ysles saint Germain⁴⁷ jusques à la fin des ysles⁴⁸, envyron dix-sept lieues et demye(s). Et | à ⁵⁷ la fin desdictes ysles, y a vne moult^z belle terre basse, plaine de grandz arbres et haultz⁴⁹. Et est icelle coste toute rangée de sablons sans y avoir aucune apparoissance de hable jusques au cap de Tyennot⁵⁰, qui se rabat au norouaist, qui est à envyron

^y P and C have, *qui*.

^z P and C have, *fort*.

there is a depth of only four fathoms⁴⁵. On account of the dangerous nature of this coast, we lowered the sails here and lay to for the night⁴⁶.

On the following day [Saturday], the last day of July, we continued our way along that coast, which runs east and west, one quarter south-east, and is skirted all along with islands and shoals and is very dangerous coast. The distance from the cape at St. German's islands⁴⁷ to the point where the islands end⁴⁸, is about seventeen and a half leagues. And at the point where the islands end, there is a fine headland, covered with large, high trees⁴⁹. This coast is fringed all along with sandy beaches, and with no sign of a harbour, as far as cape Thiennot⁵⁰, where it turns north-west. This cape lies some seven leagues from the

⁴⁵ St. Mary reefs between cape Whittle and Boat islands and nine miles from South Makers ledge. Cf. Bayfield, *op. cit.*, I, 179: "St. Mary reefs, the most dangerous off the coast, are four ledges just under water on some of which the sea always breaks. From the northernmost to the southernmost ledge the distance is one mile, and the latter lies S.W. $\frac{3}{4}$ S. $2\frac{3}{4}$ miles from the south-west extreme of Boat islands." They lie nine miles W. $\frac{1}{4}$ N. from South Makers ledge.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, I, 171: "The coast from cape Mecattina to cape Whittle is as dangerous as can well be imagined, to a stranger falling in with it at night, or in thick weather; and even to those who are quite acquainted with it, the navigation is not without much difficulty." ⁴⁷ Cape Whittle.

⁴⁸ The islands end at Kegashka bay about forty miles beyond cape Whittle. *Vid.* Huard, *op. cit.*, 441.

⁴⁹ Kegashka point, which according to Bayfield (*op. cit.*, I, 194) was "partly covered with spruce trees."

⁵⁰ Natashkwan point. The first Relation has *Thiennot* (p. 77) which is also the reading here in P. A has, *Thyennot*. Cf. Bayfield, *op. cit.*, I, 195: "At the distance of $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles westward of Kegashka river, fine sandy beaches, in front of sandy cliffs . . . commence and continue to Natashquan point, a distance of $13\frac{1}{2}$ miles."

sept lieues desdictes ysles⁵¹, le quel cap cognoissons du voiaige précédent⁵². Et pour ce, fimes porter^a toute la nuit à ouaist norouaist, jusques au jour, que le vent vint contraire, et allasmes sercher^b vng havre⁵³, où mismes noz navires, qui est vng bon petit havre, oultre ledict cap Tiennot⁵⁰ envyron sept lieues et demye(s); et est entre quatre ysles sortente[s] à la mer. Nous le nommasmes *le havre saint Nicollas*⁵⁴, et sus la plus prouchaine yslle, plantasmes vne grande croix de boys, pour merche^c. Il^d fault amener ladicte croix au nordest, puy l'aller querir et la laisser de tribort; et treuverez de parfond vi brasses, posez dedans ledict hable à quatre brasses; et^e se fault donner garde de deulx basses, qui demeurent des deulx coustez, à demye lieue hors. Toute cestedicte couste est fort dongereuse, et plaine de basses. Non obstant qu'il semble

^a C has, *couryr*.

^b P has, *feusmes charcher*.

^c Cf. Lescarbot (*op. cit.*, 1609, 297), "il veut dire marque."

^d P and C have, *Et*.

^e C has, *il*.

last of the islands⁵¹; and we recognized it from our former voyage⁵². On this account we sailed on all night [Saturday-Sunday, July 31-August 1] to the west-north-west until daylight, when the wind came ahead, whereupon we looked out for a harbour in which to anchor. We found a nice little harbour⁵³ some seven and a half leagues beyond cape Thiennot⁵⁰, lying among four islands which stretch out into the gulf. We named it "St. Nicholas's harbour"⁵⁴; and on the nearest island we set up a large wooden cross for a land-mark. One must keep this cross to the north-east, then head for it and leave it to starboard. You will find a depth of six fathoms and anchorage in the harbour in four fathoms. One must beware of two shoals, one on each side, half

⁵¹ The last islands along the coast lie off Curlew point, the eastern extremity of Kegashka bay, which is twenty-two miles to the east of Natashkwan point. Green island and Black islet the very last islands are in Kegashka bay itself.

⁵² *Vid.* pp. 76-77 *supra*.

⁵³ Pashashibu bay, twenty miles west of Natashkwan point.

⁵⁴ Pashashibu bay. The old name appears on the Harleian and Desceliers mappemondes and on Mercator's map. *Vid.* Charlevoix, *Histoire et description générale de la Nouvelle France*, I, 10, Paris, 1744 in 4°. The festival of St. Nicolas de Vardagrêlle fell on Saturday, August 7. Cf. Bayfield, *op. cit.*, I, 201: "Pashasheeboo, etc. . . are small bays, full of small islets and rocks, which render their entrances so difficult and dangerous that no directions would be of the least avail. They are occasionally . . . entered by small coasting schooners intimately acquainted with the coast." and also Huard, *op. cit.*, 348-349.

y avoir plusieurs [bons] hables, n'y a que basses et plateys⁵⁵. Nous fumes audict hable⁵⁶ dempuis ledict jour jusques au dimanche, VIII^{me} ^f jour d'aoust, auquel jour appareillasmes, et vinsmes querir la terre du su^g vers le cap de Rabast⁵⁷, lequel^h est distant dudict hable⁵⁶ [d]*'envyron vingt lieues, | gisant nort nord-^{5v} est et su surouaist. Et le landemain⁵⁸, le vent vint contraire, et pource que ne treuvasmes nulz hables à ladicte terre du su⁵⁹, fismes porter vers le nort, oultre le précédent hable⁵⁶ d'envyron dix lieues, où [nous] treuvasmes vne fortⁱ belle et grande baye⁶⁰, plaine d'isles et bonnes entrées, et posage^k de tous les temps qu'il pourroyt faire⁶¹. Et pour congnoissance d'icelle baye, y a vne

^f P has, VII but Sunday fell on the eighth.

^g P has, *deca*.

^h A and C have, *qui* as the copyist of B first wrote. A later hand has put, *lequel*, which is also the reading in C.

ⁱ P and C have, *moult*.

^k P has, *passaige de tous les vents qu'il scavoit faire*.

a league out. This whole coast is very dangerous and is full of reefs. Though one would think it contained many good harbours, there are shoals and reefs everywhere⁵⁵. We remained in that harbour⁵⁶ from that day [Sunday, August 1] until Sunday, August 8, when we set forth and made our way towards cape Rabast, on the coast towards the south⁵⁷. This cape lies some twenty leagues south-west of the above [Pashashibu] harbour. On the following day⁵⁸ we had a head wind and since we found no harbours along this south coast⁵⁹, we sailed north to a point some ten leagues beyond the former [Pashashibu] harbour where we discovered a very fine large bay⁶⁰, full of islands and with good entrances and anchorage for any weather that might prevail⁶¹. This bay may be known by a large island

⁵⁵ Cf. Bayfield, *op. cit.*, I, 197: "The coast is broken into numerous coves and small bays, affording shelter everywhere to boats, and occasionally to very small schooners. The small and bare islets and rocks are innumerable along it, but nowhere extend farther out from the points of the mainland than 2 miles."

⁵⁶ Pashashibu bay.

⁵⁷ On Anticosti island and still so called. It had been explored on the former voyage. *Vid.*, p. 74 *supra*.

⁵⁸ Monday, August 9.

⁵⁹ The only harbour on the whole island of Anticosti is Ellis bay on the south coast below West point.

⁶⁰ Pillage bay.

⁶¹ The harbour is called Ste. Geneviève harbour and lies between Ste. Geneviève island and the mainland. Cf. Abbé J. B. A. Ferland, *Cours d'histoire du Canada*, 2^{ème} édit., I, 22-23, note, Quebec, 1882 in 8°; and

grande yse, comme vng cap de terie, qui s'avance plus hors que les aultres⁶², et sus la terre, envyron deux lieues, y a vne montaigne⁶³, faicte comme vng tas de blé. Nous nommasmes ladicte baye, *la baye saint Laurens*⁶⁴.

Le XIII^e¹ jour dudict moys, nous partismes de ladicte baye saint Laurens, et fismes porter à ouaist, et vinsmes querir vng cap de terre devers le su⁶⁵, qui^m gist envyron l'ouaist, vng cart du surouaist, dudict hable saint Laurens⁶⁴, envyron vingt cinq lieues. Et par les deux sauvaiges que avyons prins le premier

¹ P has, *douzlesme*. The thirteenth was a Friday.

^m C has, *lequel*.

which stretches out beyond the others like a headland⁶², and on the mainland, some two leagues off, stands a mountain⁶³ having the form of a shock of wheat. We named this bay "St. Lawrence's bay"⁶⁴.

On [Friday] the thirteenth of that month, we set out from St. Lawrence's bay and heading towards the west, made our way as far as a cape on the south side⁶⁵, which lies some twenty-five leagues west, one quarter south-west of St. Lawrence's harbour⁶⁴. And it was told us by the two Indians whom we had captured on Bayfield, *op. cit.*, I, 205-207: "St. Genevieve and Betchewun Harbours. Both are excellent harbours, not difficult of access or egress . . . and are fit for large ships . . . So little sea comes in that the whole space [of Pillage bay] may be considered as a harbour capable of holding a great number of vessels of large draught."

⁶² Ste. Geneviève island. Cf. Bayfield, *op. cit.*, I, 203: "St. Geneviève island, the easternmost [of the Mingan group], is about 5 miles in circumference. Its north-east point is a bluff headland, the termination in that direction of the highest part of the island, which is about 200 feet above the sea."

⁶³ Mount Ste. Geneviève. *Vid.* Ferland, *loc. cit.*, and cf. Bayfield, *op. cit.*, *loc. cit.*; "Mount Ste. Geneviève is an isolated table hill on the mainland, of limestone, 332 feet above high water, resting on the granite about one mile inward, and 2½ miles N. ½ E. from the north-east point of [Ste. Geneviève] island."

⁶⁴ Now Pillage bay and Ste. Geneviève harbour. The festival of St. Lawrence, archdeacon of Rome, fell on Tuesday, August 10. It is an important festival in Brittany. The name appears on the Desliens and Vallard maps, on the Harleian and Desceliers mappemondes, on the Desceliers planisphere and on the Mercator map. *Vid.* Plates VIII, X, XII, XIV and XV. pp. 128, 160, 192, 224 and 240. For an explanation of the extension of this name to the gulf and thence to the river, see p. 108, note 91.

⁶⁵ West point on Anticosti island. The depth of water, mentioned later, proves this.

voiaige⁶⁶, nous fut dict que c'estoit de laⁿ terre devers le su, et que c'estoyt vne yslle⁶⁷, et que par | le su d'icelle estoit le chemyn^{6r} à aller de Honguedo⁶⁸, où nous les avions prins le premier voiaige^o, à Can[a]da⁶⁹, et que à deulx journées dudict cap et yslle⁷⁰ commançoit^p le royaume du^a Saguenay⁷¹, à la terre devers le nort, allant vers ledict Canada. Le travers dudict cap⁷⁰, envyron troys lieues, y a de parfond cent brasses et plus⁷²; et n'est mé-moyre de jamais avoir tant veu de baillaines, que nous vismes celle journée, le travers dudict cap⁷³.

ⁿ P and C have, *ladicte*.

^p P has, *commenceroit*.

^o P and C have, *l'an precedent*.

^a A has, *de*.

our first voyage⁶⁶, that this cape formed part of the land on the south which was an island⁶⁷; and that to the south of it lay the route from Honguedo⁶⁸, where we had seized them when on our first voyage, to Canada⁶⁹; and that two days' journey from this cape and island⁷⁰, began the kingdom of the Saguenay⁷¹, on the north shore as one made one's way towards this Canada. Some three leagues from this cape⁷⁰, there is a depth of more than 100 fathoms⁷²; and none of us ever remembers having seen so many whales as we saw that day off this cape⁷³.

⁶⁶ *Vid.* pp. 65-67 *supra*.

⁶⁷ Anticosti island which is 135 miles long and about thirty miles in width at the broadest part.

⁶⁸ Gaspé. Lescarbot has always read, *Hongnedo* which the Quebec editor copied. Thevet gives *Honguade* (*Cosmog. Univ.*, ii, 1011^v). The name appears on the Desliens map and on the Desceliers planisphere. The Desceliers mappe-monde gives, *Onygnedo*, while Mercator's map has, *Hunedo* and places *Honguedo* some distance up the Saguenay. *Vid.* p. 64 *supra*, note 2, and p. 289 *infra*.

⁶⁹ As will be observed farther on, this word is always used to designate the region along the St. Lawrence from Grosse island on the east (p. 119) to a point between Quebec and Three Rivers on the west (pp. 142 and 172). It is so represented on the Vallard and Mercator maps and on Hakluyt's map of

⁷⁰ West point on Anticosti island.

⁷¹ The word Saguenay is perhaps derived from the Montagnais, *saki-nip*, "water which issues forth." Cf. Abbé Laverdière's note in Champlain, *Œuvres*, II, p. 4, note 5, Québec, 1870.

⁷² The charts give 105 fathoms a short distance to the south of West point.

⁷³ On the whale fishing in the Gulf, *vid.* C. F. Duro, *Libro sexto de las disquisiciones nauticas*, 273 *et seq.*, Madrid, 1881; Hakluyt, *op. cit.*, III, 132, 153, 165, and 194-195; Champlain's *Works*, I, 177, and *Œuvres*, III, 140 and 226-228; Lescarbot, *op. cit.*, 1609, 835 *et seq.*; and finally the engraving in Thevet's *Cosmographie universelle*, II, 1017.

Le landemain^r, jour Nostre Dame d'aoust, quinziesme *[jour] dudict moys, nous passas(sa)mes le destroit la nuit [de] davant⁷⁴; et le landemain eusmes congnoissance de terres qui nous demouroient vers le su⁷⁶, qui est vne terre à haultes montaignes à merveilles; dont le cap susdict de ladicte ysl⁷⁷, que nous avons nommé[e] *l'isle de l'Assumption*⁷⁸, et vng cap desdictes haultes terres⁷⁹, gisent est nordest et ouaist surouaist;

^r As there is no mention of Saturday, August 14, it should be, *surlendemain*.

After passing through the strait [of St. Peter] on the previous night⁷⁴, the next day which was our Our Lady's day of August, [Sunday] the fifteenth of that month, we had sight of land towards the south, which turned out to be a coast with marvellously high mountains⁷⁶. The above-mentioned [West] cape on the island [of Anticosti], which we named "Assumption island"⁷⁸, and a cape on this high [Gaspé] shore⁷⁹, lie east-north-east and west-

1589. Cf. also Belleforest, *La Cosmographie universelle*, II, Paris, 1575, 2190: "Le pays de Canada est enuironné des hautes mōtaignes de Saguenai vers Septentrion, au Leuant luy gist le goulphe de saint Laurens, au Ponent le pays de Hochelaga, & au Midy la terre de Nurumbeg." On the Harleian and Desceliers mappemondes and on the Desceliers planisphere however, the name embraces the region on both sides of the St. Lawrence down as far as Anticosti. It is also employed in this sense by Thevet in his *Singularitez* (Paris, 1558, fols. 149 and 150^v) as well as in his *Cosmographie*, II, 1010. The name "river of

⁷⁴ Saturday-Sunday August 14-15. Lescarbot, *op. cit.*, 1609, p. 299 has added: "C'est le Détroit saint Pierre." It is the passage to the north of Anticosti between it and the Quebec shore. On the naming of this strait see p. 75 *supra*.

⁷⁶ The south shore of the St. Lawrence between Fame point and cape Magdalen. The mountains were Mont Louis and the Notre Dame chain.

⁷⁷ West point on Anticosti.

⁷⁸ The island of Anticosti. Cf. Belleforest, *op. cit.*, II, col. 2185: "& courant du Leuant au Ponēt, le long du goulphe de S. Laurēs . . . on voit l'Isle de l'Assumption, d'autant qu'elle fut decouverte le iour de la nostre Dame d'Aoust [August 15] qui est la feste de l'Assumption, & trespas de la glorieuse vierge Marie;" and also Lescarbot, *op. cit.*, 1609, p. 289: "Cette Ile est appelée par les Sauvages du païs Anticosti qui est celle que Jacques Quartier a nommée l'Ile de l'Assumption," etc. The Montagnais call it *Natascoueh*, "where the bear is hunted." It is given on the Desceliers mappemonde and on Mercator's map. On the Desliens map and on the Desceliers planisphere it is called *y^e de l'Arcipel*.

⁷⁹ Probably Fame point on the Gaspé shore. The variation of the compass would account for Cartier's direction.

et y a entre eulx vingt cinq lieues. Et veoyt on les terres du nort encores plus haultes que celles du su, à plus de trente lieues. Nous rangasmes lesdictes terres du su, dempuys ledict jour⁸⁰ jusques au mardi⁸¹, midi, que le vent vynt ouaist, et mismes le cap au nort, pour aller querir lesdictes haultes terres que voyons. Et nous estans là, trouvasmes lesdictes terres vnyes et basses | vers la mer, et les montaignes de devers le nort, par sus lesdictes basses^t terres, gisentes icelles [terres] est et ouaist, vng cart du surouaist⁸². Et par les sauvaiges que avions, nous a esté dict

^t P has, *haulies*.

south-west; and the distance from one to the other is twenty-five leagues. The north shore, when one is some thirty leagues off, looks higher than the south shore. We coasted this south shore from that day, [Sunday]⁸⁰, until noon on Tuesday⁸¹, when the wind came out of the west. We then headed north in order to make our way towards the high coast we saw in that direction. And on reaching it, we found that the shore was low and flat at the water's edge, but that beyond this low shore there were mountains. This coast runs east and west, one quarter south-west⁸². Our Indians

Canada" by which the St. Lawrence was frequently designated (*Vid.* p. 108 *infra* note 91) helped this extension, which seems to have been definitely ratified by Lescarbot. Although the real limits of Canada, he says (*op. cit.*, 1609, p. 250) were those given by Belleforest, "Toutefois j'ay appris . . . que les peuples de Gachepé, & de la baye de Chaleur . . . se disent Canadoquoia c'est à dire Canadaquois . . . Cette diversité a fait que les Geographes ont varié en l'assiette de la province de Canada, les uns l'ayant située par les cinquante, les autres par les soixante degrez. Cela presupposé, je dy que l'un & l'autre côté de ladite riviere [de Canada] est Canada;" and again p. 843: "Voila comme de tout temps on a decréié le pais de Canada (souz lequel nom on comprend toute cette terre)" Cf. also Charlevoix, *op. cit.*, I, 11. Cartier gives the word in his Indian vocabulary (p. 245) as meaning "town," while MS. C has the expression *Canada undagneny* (p. 245) meaning "Whence come you?" The old Mohawk word for castle given by Van Curler (*Report of the American Historical Association for 1895*, p. 100, Washington, 1896) is *Canadaghi* and the old Huron form *Andata*. The modern Mohawk form is *Kanata*. *Vid.* Schoolcraft, *op. cit.*, 256 No. 58; and Cf. Lescarbot, *op. cit.*, 250-251; Ferland, *op. cit.*, I, 25; and Rev. W. M. Beauchamp, *Indian Names in New York*, p. 104, Fayetteville, 1893.

⁸⁰ Sunday, August 15.

⁸¹ Tuesday, August 17. They had in all probability made their way along the south shore to a point a little beyond cape Ste. Anne.

⁸² The north shore near Lobster bay to judge from the distance run and the description of the coast.

que c'estoit le commencement du Saguenay⁸³, et terre habitée^u, et que de là venoyt le cuyvre rouge, qu'ilz appellent *caignetdazé*.^{v 84} Il y a entre les terres du su et celles du nort envyron trente lieues, et plus de deulx cens brasses de parfond⁸⁵. Et nous ont lesditz sauvaiges certiffyé estre le chemyn et commencement du grand fleuve de Hochelaga⁸⁶ et chemyn de Canada⁸⁷, lequel

^u P has, *habitable*.

^v Such is the reading in P and Ternaux-Compans. Lescarbot has read: *Caquetdazé* which the Quebec editor copied. A has, *caitgnetd*—the rest of the word having been cut away by the binder. In the vocabulary at the end of the first Relation (p. 81) it is spelt, *aignetazé*.

told us that this was the beginning of the Saguenay⁸³ and of the inhabited region; and that thence came the copper they call *caignetdazé*⁸⁴. The distance from the south to the north shore is about thirty leagues; and there is a depth of more than 200 fathoms⁸⁵. The two Indians assured us that this was the way to the mouth of the great river of Hochelaga⁸⁶ and the route towards Canada⁸⁷, and that the river grew narrower as one approach-

⁸³ See p. 103, note 71.

⁸⁴ The old Mohawk form of this word was *Karistaji* meaning "iron, copper and lead." Cf. Gen. J. G. Wilson, *Arent Van Curler and his Journal of 1634-1635* in the *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the year 1895*, 99, Washington, 1896; and Schoolcraft, *op. cit.*, p. 267, N^{os} 128 and 129.

⁸⁵ The charts give a depth of 228 fathoms N.E. of cape Ste. Anne, the distance from which to Lobster bay on the Quebec coast is about forty-eight miles.

⁸⁶ This seems to have been the name given by Cartier to the St. Lawrence and it is so styled by Thevet (*Singularitez*, etc. fol. 150; *Cosmographie* II, 1010^v and 1011; *Grand Insulaire* in the Biblioth. Nat., MS. fr. 15452, fols. 121, 149, 157 and 164); by Belleforest (*op. cit.*, II, 2184); by Wytfliet (*Descriptionis Ptolemaicæ augmentum*, map 18 Lovani, 1597), and by Herrera, *Descripción de las Indias occidentales*, p. 20, Madrid, 1601.

⁸⁷ *Vid.* p. 103 *supra*, note 69.

alloit tousiours en estroissant jusques à Canada⁸⁸; et puis, que l'on treuve l'eaue doulce audit fleuve, qui va si loing, que jamays homme n'avoit ^w esté [iusques] au bout, qu'ilz eussent ouy; et que aultre passage n'y avoit que par bateaulx⁸⁹. Et voyant leur dire, et qu'ilz affermoient n'y avoir aultre passage, ne voullut ledict cappitaine passer oultre, jusques à avoir veu la reste [de ladicte terre] et coste devers le nort, qu'il avoit obmis à veoyr dempuys la baye saint Laurens⁹⁰, pour aller veoyr la terre du su, pour veoyr s'il y avoit aucun passage. |

^w P has, *n'auroit*.

ed Canada⁸⁸; and also that farther up, the water became fresh, and that one could make one's way so far up the river that they had never heard of anyone reaching the head of it. Furthermore that one could only proceed along it in small boats⁸⁹. In view of these statements and of their assertion that no other passage existed, the Captain [Cartier] was unwilling to proceed further until he had explored the remainder of the north shore to see if there was a strait there; for on account of our passing over to the south shore, the coast from St. Lawrence's bay⁹⁰ onward had not been visited.

⁸⁸ At Quebec the St. Lawrence is only 3,230 feet wide. Hence the name *kebec*, meaning "where the stream is obstructed." *Vid.* Champlain's *Works*, I, 129; and Lescarbot, *op. cit.*, 1611, p. 622.

⁸⁹ *Vid. infra* pp. 169 and 200 *et seq.*

⁹⁰ Pillage bay. *Vid.* p. 102.

7^r

COMMENT LE^x CAPPITAINE FICT RETOURNER LES
NAVIRES EN ARRIÈRE, JUSQUES A AVOIR CONGNOIS-
SANCE DE LA BAYE SAINT LAURENS, POUR VEOYR
S'IL Y AVOIT AUCUN PASSAIGE VERS LE NORT.⁹¹

Le mercredi, XVIII^e jour d'aoust, ledict^x cappitaine fict retourner les^y navires en arrière, et mettre le cap à l'autre bord; et rangasmes ladicte coste du nort, qui gist nordest et surouaist, faisant vng demy arc, qui est vne terre fort haulte, non tant comme celle du su. Et^z arrivasmes, le jeudi [ensuyvant⁹²], à sept ysles moult^a haultes, que^b nous nommasmes *les ysles Rondes*⁹³, qui^c sont à envyron quarente lieues des terres du su⁹⁴, et s'avan-

^x P and C have, *nostre*.

^y P has, *ses*.

^z C has, *Nous*.

^a P has, *fort*.

^b P has, *lesquelles*.

^c C has, *lesquelles*.

HOW THE CAPTAIN ORDERED THE SHIPS TO HEAD
BACK AS FAR AS THE BAY OF ST. LAWRENCE,
TO MAKE SURE THAT NO STRAIT EXISTED ALONG
THE NORTH SHORE⁹¹.

On Wednesday, August 18, the Captain ordered the ships to head back and to steer in the opposite direction; and we coasted the north shore, which runs north-east and south-west in the

⁹¹ It seems to be due to the misunderstanding of this heading by early writers that the river called by Cartier (p. 106) the "river of Hochelaga" is called by us the St. Lawrence. This name had been given by Cartier to Pillage bay (p. 102) where the festival of St. Lawrence had been spent; but most readers forgetting this, would understand the name to refer here to the expanse of water at the mouth of the river of which the Indian guides had just spoken. Thus in 1552, only seven years after the publication of the *Brief recit*, Gomara speaks of the *gran rio dicho san Lorenzo, que algunos lo tienen por brazo de mar*. (*Istoria de las Indias*, fol. VII^v). Four years later Ramusio not only mentioned (*op. cit.*, III, 417) the *gran fiume detto di san Lorenzo* but actually translated the above heading: *come il nostro Capitano fece rilornar le navi indietro per haver notitia, se nel golfo di san Lorenzo v'era alcun passaggio verso tramontana*. These writers were doubtless Mercator's authority for calling this gulf on his map of 1569, *Sinus S. Laurentii*, in which nomenclature he was followed by Ortelius, Belleforest and Thevet. Florio's translation of Ramusio in 1580 gave the name to Hakluyt, who employed it frequently (*Discourse on Western Planting* 102, map of 1589, and *Principall Navigations*, III, 152, 157, 164-165, etc.) Although in 1609 Lescarbot sought to impose the name "riviere de Canada plustot que de Hochelaga ou de saint Laurens" (*op. cit.*, 1609, 250), yet four years later Champlain (who in 1603, *Works* I, 95, 129, 136, had followed Alfonse, Parkhurst, Thevet and Noel in calling it "river of Canada") also adopted the name St.

cent hors à la mer troys ou quatre lieues. Le travers desquelles y a vng commencement de basses terres, plaines de beaulx arbres⁹⁵; lesquelles terres nous rangasmes le vendredi avecques noz barques; le travers desquelles y a plusieurs bancqs de sablon⁹⁶, à plus de deulx lieues à la mer, fort dongereulx, lesquelz decuevrent de basse mer. Et au bout d'icelles basses terres, qui contiennent envyron dix lieues, y a vne ripvière d'eaue doulce⁹⁷, sortent^d à la mer, tellement que à plus d'une lieue de terre, elle est aussi doulce que eaue de fontaine⁹⁸. Nous entrasmes en ladicte ripvière avecq noz | barques, et ne trouvâmes à l'entrée 7v [d'icelle] que brasse et demye. Il y a dedans ladicte ripvière plusieurs poissons qui ont forme de chevaulx, lesquelz vont à la

^d C has, *sortente*.

form of a semi-circle. It is a high shore though less so than the south shore. And on the following day, Thursday⁹², we came to seven very high islands, which we named the "Round islands"⁹³. They lie some forty leagues from the south shore⁹⁴, and stretch out into the gulf to a distance of three or four leagues. Opposite to them commences a low shore covered with trees⁹⁵, which we coasted with our long-boats on the Friday [August 20]. Some Lawrence by which the river has ever since been known. (*Œuvres*, III, 135, 202, 268-269; IV, 19, 69; V, 7, 47: and *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, III, 40, 68, 160; IV, 190; V, 68, 86, 98, 100, etc.) Cf. also Charlevoix, *op. cit.*, I, 10.

⁹² The following day, Thursday, August 19.

⁹³ Farther on (p. 111) he calls them the *Sept-Isles* and this is still their name though in reality there are only six. The mistake was due to the peninsula of Seven Islands bay which from a distance looks like an island. They are given on the Desliens and Vallard maps, on the Harleian and Desceliers mappemondes, on the Desceliers planisphere and on the Mercator map. Some islands of the same name lie off the coast of France to the west of St. Malo. Cf. Bayfield, *op. cit.*, I, 228: "Seven Islands are high and steep, of primary rocks, very thinly wooded, and can be seen from a distance of 7 or 8 leagues, being unlike anything else in the gulf"; and H. Y. Hind, *Explorations in the Interior of Labrador Peninsula*, etc. I, 319-320, London, 1863. *Vid.* also Whittier's poem, "The Bay of Seven Islands" in his works, Boston 1894, 127-130.

⁹⁴ The distance across to cape Ste. Anne on the south shore is about fifty-eight miles.

⁹⁵ Cf. Bayfield, *op. cit.*, I, 226: "Here [Moisie bay] the rocky shores terminate and the bold sandy beach, which extends to the River Moisie, commences." Cartier's vessels remained at anchor in Seven Islands bay.

terre de nuyct, et de jours à la mer, ainsi qu'il nous fut dict par noz deulx sauvaiges^e, et de cesditz^f poissons vismes grand nombre dedans ladicte ripvière⁹⁹.

Le landemain, XXI^{me} jour dudict moys¹⁰⁰, au matin, à l'aube du jour, fymes voile, et fismes porter le long de ladicte couste tant que nous eusmes congnoissance de la reste de ladicte coste du nort, que n'avions veu, et de l'isle de l'Assumption¹, que nous avyons esté querir au partir de ladicte terre. Et lors que nous fumes certains que ladicte coste estoit rangée, et qu'il n'y avoit nul passaige, retournasmes à noz navires, qui^g estoient

^e From P. A, B and C have, *hommes*.

^f From P. A, B and C have, *sesdicts*.

^g C has, *lesquelles*.

two or more leagues from shore lie several very dangerous sand-bars which become bare at low water⁹⁶. At the end of this low shore, which continues for some ten leagues, is a fresh-water river⁹⁷ [Moisie], which enters the gulf with such force that at a distance of more than a league from shore, the water is as fresh as spring water⁹⁸. We entered this river with our long-boats and at the mouth of it found a depth of only a fathom and a half. Up this river were several fish in appearance like horses which go on land at night but in the day-time remain in the water, as our two Indians informed us. We saw a great number of these fish up this river⁹⁹.

⁹⁶ Moisie shoal and rock and St. Charles reef. Cf. Bayfield, *op. cit.*, I, 227: "Although the bar of the river Moisie is so bold that there are 50 fathoms water at the distance of three-quarters of a mile from it to the south and S. E., yet the shallow water continues from it $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles westward past Moisie point, in such a manner as to form an extensive triangular sandy shoal, with from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 fathoms on it at low water. Moisie rock, near the south-west extremity of Moisie shoal, and with 3 feet least water, lies $2\frac{3}{4}$ miles W. by S. from Moisie point and nearly $1\frac{3}{4}$ miles from the shore."

⁹⁷ River Moisie. Lescarbot, *op. cit.*, 1609, p. 302 has added: "Laquelle est appelée aujourdhuy Chischedec d'un nom de l'imposition des Sauvages;" and at p. 237 he says: "Riviere dite Chischedec, où il y a grande quantité de chevaux aquatiques dits Hippopotames!" The Harleian and Desceliers mappemondes have, *r. de Chevaulx*, and the Mercator map, *r. douce de Chevaulx*. Vid. plates VIII and XII, pp. 128 and 192 *infra*.

⁹⁸ The Moisie and its tributary the Cold Water river drain an area extending over 120 miles inland. Vid. Hind, *op. cit.*, I, 234 *et seq.* and the map at p. 239 of that work.

⁹⁹ Walruses. Vid. Lescarbot, *op. cit.* 1609, 838-39, and Appendix III, p. 304 *infra*.

esdictes Sept Ysles, où il y a bonnes raddes^h à xviii et à vingt brasses, etⁱ sablon². Auquel lieu avons esté, sans pouvoyr sortir ny faire voile pour la cause des bruymes et ventz contraires qu'i faisoit^j, jusques au XXIIII^o [iour] dudict moys³, que nous appareillâmes, et avons esté par la mer, chemyn faisant, jusques au vingt neufviesme dudict moys⁴, que sommes arryvez à | vng^{8r} hable de la coste du su⁵, qui^k est [à] envyrion iiij^{xx} lieues desdictz Sept Ysles, lequel¹ est le travers de troys ysles plattes^{1a}, qui sont par le parmy du fleuve.⁶ Et envyrion le my chemin des-

^h P has, *bonne radde*.

ⁱ P has, *de*.

^j P has, *faisoient*.

^k C has, *lequel*.

¹ P has, *qui*.

^{1a} Lescarbot read *petites* so the Quebec editor (p. 30) gave, *petites et plates*.

At dawn on the following morning [Saturday], the twenty-first of the said month¹⁰⁰, we set sail and made our way along this shore until we had examined all the omitted portion, and had arrived at Assumption island which we had explored on leaving this coast¹. And when we had made certain that we had examined the whole coast and that no strait existed, we returned to our ships, which were at the above-mentioned Seven islands, where there are good harbours with eighteen and twenty fathoms and sandy bottom². We remained there, without being able to leave on account of fogs and head-winds, until [Tuesday] the twenty-fourth of that month³, when we made sail and were under way, pursuing our course, until [Sunday] the twenty-ninth⁴, when we came to a harbour on the south shore some eighty leagues from the said Seven islands⁵. It lies opposite to three flat islands that stand in the

¹⁰⁰ Saturday August 21.

¹ Anticosti. Cf. pp. 102-104 *supra*. They had now returned to the point at which they had left this north shore.

² Cf. Bayfield, *op. cit.*, I, 228-229: "The Seven islands are so placed as to completely shelter the magnificent bay within them which is 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ miles wide at the entrance . . . and . . . extends about 6 miles northward and westward, being so nearly landlocked as to resemble a lake, sufficiently extensive for large fleets to lie in safety; the bottom is of clay, and there are no shoals;" and also Huard, *op. cit.*, 118.

³ Tuesday, August 24.

⁴ Sunday, August 29.

⁵ Old Bic harbour. It is indicated but not named on the Harleian and Desceliers mappemondes. Lescarbot (*op. cit.*, 1609, p. 241) gives it but calls it "Le Pic" after Champlain's little volume of 1603, *Works*, I, 95,. In his maps of 1612 and 1632 however Champlain put, "Bic."

dictes ysles et ledict hable, devers le nort, y a vne fort grande ripvière⁷, qui est entre les haultes et basses terres⁸, laquelle^m faict plusieurs bancs à la mer, à plus de troys lieues, qui est vng pays fort dongereulx, et sonneⁿ de deux brasses et moins⁹; et à la choiste^o d'iceulx bancqs, treuverés xxv et trente brasses, bort à bort. Toute icelle coste du nort gist nort nordest et su surouaist.

■ P has, *qui*.

ⁿ P has, *sont*.

^o P has, *creste*.

middle of the stream⁶. About half-way between this harbour and the above-mentioned [Seven] islands, on the north shore, is a large river⁷ with one bank high and the other low⁸, which forms several shoals at a distance of more than three leagues from shore, which spot is very dangerous as there is only a depth of two fathoms and less⁹. Off the edge of these shoals the depth is twenty-five and thirty fathoms steep-to. The whole of this north shore runs north-north-east and south-south-west.

The aforesaid [Old Bic] harbour, where we anchored, is on the south shore, and is a tidal harbour of little value¹¹. We named it the "islets of St. John," since we reached it on the anni-

⁶ Bic and Bicquette islands and North-west reef. Cf. Bayfield, *op. cit.*, I, 93-94: "Bic island . . . is about 3 miles long . . . and one mile broad. Its shores are of slate rocks; it is thickly wooded, uninhabited, and its height does not exceed 150 feet above the sea . . . Bicquette island, lying three-quarters of a mile northward of Bic island, is half a mile long, a quarter of a mile broad, and about 100 feet high above the sea . . . Several large rocks above water extend one-third of a mile east and south-east of Bicquette island."

⁷ Manikouagan river. The Desceliers planisphere has, *R. doulche* at this point. Lescarbot (*op. cit.*, 1609, p. 303) says Champlain called it the Mantanne but Champlain (*Works*, I, 168) places the Mantanne (now called Matane) on the south side where it belonged.

⁸ Bayfield, *op. cit.*, I, 244: "St. Giles point, the northern entrance point to Manicouagan river, is high and rocky, like the coast to the eastward; while Manicouagan [i.e. the west] point is low and thickly wooded, with a broad sandy beach."

⁹ The Harleian and Desceliers mappemondes and Mercator's map called them, *les bancz St. Jacques*. It is now called Manikouagan shoal. Cf. Bayfield, *op. cit.*, I, 244-245: "The easternmost point of this dangerous and extensive [Manikouagan] shoal is 2½ miles E. S.E. from St. Giles point, and 5¼ miles E. by N. from the north-east end of Manicouagan peninsula."

¹⁰ Old Bic Harbour. *Vid* p. 111.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, I, 92: "Old Bic Harbour . . . dries at low water, and has many rocks in it."

🐉 Brief recit, &

succincte narration, de la nauigation faicte es yfles de Canada, Hochelage & Saguenay & autres, avec particulieres meurs, langage, & ceremonies des habitans d'icelles: fort delectable à veoir.



Avec priuilege.

On les uend à Paris au second pillier en la grand
salle du Palais, & en la rue neufue nostredame à
l'enseigne de lescu de frâce, par Ponce Roffet dict
Faucheur, & Anthoine le Clerc freres.

1 5 4 5.

Le hable devant dict¹⁰ où posames^p, qui est à la terre du su, est hable de marée, et de peu de valleur¹¹. Nous le^q nommasmes les yseaulx saint Jehan, pource que nous y entrasmes^r le jour de la decollation dudict saint¹². Et auparavant que arriver audict hable, y a vne yse¹³, à l'est d'icelluy envyron cinq lieues, où il n'y a point de passage entre terre et elle que par bateaulx¹⁴. Ledict hable des yseaulx saint Jehan asseche toutes les marées,

^p A has, *pasames*.

^q P has, *les*.

^r C has, *arrivasmes*.

versary of the beheading of that saint¹². And before coming to it, one passes an island¹³ some five leagues to the east, with no passage between it and the mainland, except for small boats¹⁴. The best spot in which to anchor vessels is to the south of a small islet in the middle of this [Old Bic] harbour and close to the islet¹⁵.

On [Wednesday], September the first we set sail from this harbour to make our way towards Canada¹⁶. Some fifteen leagues to the west-south-west of this harbour, in the middle of the stream, lie three islands¹⁷, and opposite to them there is a very deep and rapid river¹⁸, which is the river and route to the kingdom and country of the Saguenay, as we were informed by our two

¹² Sunday, August 29. The Cabot map has, *ys. de S. Juan* at this spot.

¹³ Barnaby island, seven and a half miles east of Old Bic harbour.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, *loc. cit.*: "Barnaby island is 3½ miles long, and very narrow . . . The channel between the island and Rimouski is dry at low water. There is a depth of 7 to 12 feet through it at high water . . . but at no time should a vessel drawing more than 8 feet attempt this passage."

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 92-3. "Two round and high rocky islets . . . will be seen extending westward from its [Old Bic harbour's] east point . . . Midway between these rocky islets and the west point of the harbour, small vessels may anchor in Old Bic road in 3 fathoms at low water, with a muddy bottom."

¹⁶ *Vid.* p. 103 *supra*, note 69.

¹⁷ Basque, Apple and Green islands. Basque island lies twenty miles from Bicquette island. Cf. Bayfield, *op. cit.*, I, 101: "Basque island is 1½ miles long, parallel to the coast, and 2 cables wide . . . There is no passage for ships between it and the south shore, from which it is distant 2 miles . . . Apple island, 2¾ miles from Basque island, is formed by one principal and several smaller rocks; the whole covering a space one mile long parallel to the coast, by 1½ cables wide. It is 30 or 40 feet above the sea at high water, without any trees, and distant 2½ miles from the nearest point of main land." Green island lies two and three quarters miles from Apple island and is about seven miles long.

¹⁸ The Saguenay. It is given on the Desliens and Vallard maps, on the Harleian and Desceliers mappemondes, on the Desceliers planisphere and on the Mercator map. *Vid.* plates VIII, X, XII, XIV and XV, pp. 128, 160, 192, 224 and 240 *infra*.

et y marine l'eau de deulx brasses. Le^s meilleur lieu à mectre navires est vers le su d'un petit yslot, qui est au parmy dudict hable, bort audict yslot¹⁵. |

8^v Nous appareillâmes dudict hable le premier jour de septembre, pour aller vers Canada¹⁶. Et envyron quinze lieues dudict hable, à l'ouaist surouaist, y a troys ysles¹⁷ au parmy dudict fleuve, le travers desquelles y a vne ripvière¹⁸ fort profonde et courante, qui est la ripvière et chemyn du royaume et terre du Saguenay, ainsi que nous a esté dict par noz [deux] hommes^t du pays de Canada¹⁹. Et est icelle ripvière entre haultes

Rivière de
Saguenay

^s C has, *Et le*.

^t P has, *noz deux sauvages*.

savages from Canada¹⁹. This river issues from between lofty mountains of bare rock with but little soil upon them²⁰. Notwithstanding this, a large number of various kinds of trees grow upon this naked rock as in good soil, in such sort that we saw there a tree tall enough to make a mast for a ship of thirty tons, which was as green as possible, and grew out of the rock without any trace of earth about it. At the mouth of this river we found four canoes from Canada²¹ that had come there to fish for seals and other

¹⁹ Although Taignoagny and Dom Agaya had been seized in Gaspé harbour their home was in the region about Quebec. Cf. p. 66 *supra* and 196 *infra*.

²⁰ Cf. J. G. A. Creighton in *Picturesque Canada*, II (Toronto, 1882), 710: "All at once . . . the mountains are cleft by a mighty rift and a tremendous chasm opens to view, black, forbidding, like the entrance to a world beneath the mountains . . . You are at the mouth of the Saguenay."

²¹ *Vid.* 103 *supra*, note 69.

²² Cf. however Peter D. Clarke, *Origin and Traditional History of the Wyandotts* (Toronto, 1870), p. 4: "The ships of the first discoverer of Canada were first seen by the Delaware Indians, whom the Wyandotts had sent from about Quebec to the Gulf coast to look out for the strangers and guard the shores. One day the "coast guard" observed several objects appearing, one after another, like sea gulls, as they were scanning the gulf as far as the eye could reach, and which seemed, gradually, to increase in size, as the strange objects came on toward them, and after a while, the spread sails and dark hulls came in full view filling the Indians with wonder. The Delaware messengers sent to the first Wyandott village to inform them of this; represented the ships as some great dark animals, with broad white wings spitting out fire! and uttering the voice of thunder. The Indians on the St. Lawrence had heard, before this, of there being some "great, dark body and white winged animals," seen north-east and south of them, passing over the 'big-waters'." *Vid.*, also Jones, *op. cit.*, 27, and Silas Rand, *Legends of the Micmacs*, 225, London, 1894.

montaignes de pierre nue^u, sans y avoir que peu de terre²⁰, et^v non obstant, y croist grande quantité d'arbres, et de plusieurs sortes, qui croissent sus ladicte pierre nue comme sus bonne terre; de sorte que nous y avons veu tel arbre, suffisant à master navire de trente thonneaulx, aussi vert qu'il soit possible [de veoir], lequel estoit sus vng rocq sans y avoir aucune saveur de terre. A l'entrée d'icelle ripvière, trouvasmes quatre barques de Canada²¹, qui^w estoient là venues pour faire pescherie de loups marins et aultres poissons²². Et nous estans posez dedans ladicte ripvière²³, vint^x deux desdictes barques²⁴ vers noz^y navires, lesquelles

^u A has, *nues*.

^v C has, *ce*.

^w C has, *lesquelz*.

^x Lescarbot put *vindrent* so the Quebec editor (p. 32) gave, *vinrent*.

^y C has, *nozdictes*.

fish²². And when we had anchored in that river²³, two of the canoes²⁴ came towards our ships but in such great fear and trembling that one of them finally went back but the other approached near enough to hear one of our Indians who gave his name and told who he was and made them come alongside²⁵ in all confidence.

On the morrow [Thursday], September 2, we set forth again from this river²⁶ to make our way towards Canada²⁷, and found the tide extremely swift and dangerous on account of two islands²⁸ that lie to the south of this river [Saguenay]. At a distance of more than three leagues from these, there is a depth of only two and three fathoms²⁹, and the bottom is strewn with large boulders like casks and puncheons, so that with the tide running out between these islands, we thought we should lose our bark³⁰, but saved her with the help of our long-boats³¹. On the edge of this

²³ Probably in the little bay where Tadoussac now stands. Cf. Champlain's *Works*, I, 96.

²⁴ Lescarbot, *op. cit.*, 1609, p. 304 has added in the margin: "Ces barques sont petits canots, ou navicules faits d'écorce."

²⁵ Lescarbot (*op. cit.*, *loc. cit.*) has added: "A bord, c'est à dire dans le navire," but this seems incorrect. *Vid.* pp. 121-122 *infra*. ²⁶ The Saguenay.

²⁷ This shows they had not yet reached Canada. *Vid.* p. 103, note 69.

²⁸ Red islet and Green island opposite the mouth of the Saguenay.

²⁹ Red Islet bank. Cf. Bayfield, *op. cit.*, I, 257: "Red islet is quite bold at its south-west end, but a rocky bank or reef, nearly dry in some parts at low water, extends 2½ miles N.E. and is 1½ miles wide." ³⁰ The *Emérillon*.

³¹ "What may be considered the first difficult pass ascending the St. Lawrence," says Bayfield (*op. cit.*, I, 255) is "the difficulty arising not only from the dangerous reefs off Green island, Red islet, and Saguenay river, but also from the great velocity and transverse direction of the tidal streams" at this point.

venoient en vne [grande]* peur^z et craincte, de sorte qu'il en ressortit^a vne, et l'autre aproucha près^b, qu'ilz peurent entendre l'un de noz sauvaiges, qui se nomma et fict sa congnoissance, et les fict venyr seurement à bort²⁵.|

9^r Le landemain, deuxiesme jour dudict moys de septembre, resortismes hors de ladicte ripvière²⁶ pour faire le chemin vers Canada²⁷; et trouvasmes la marée fort courante et dongereuse, pource que, devers le su de ladicte ripvière, y a deulx ysles²⁸, à l'entour desquelles, à plus de troys lieues, n'y a que deulx et troys brasses²⁹, seméez de gros perrons, comme thonneaulx et pippes, et les marées decepantes par entre lesdictes ysles, de sorte que cuydasmes y perdre nostre gallion³⁰, sinon le secours de noz barques³¹. Et à la choiste^c desdictz plateys, y a de parfond trente brasses et plus. Passé ladicte ripvière du Saguenay et

^z P has, *en grand peur*, while C has put, *en vne grande peur*.

^a P has, *recueillit*.

^b Lescarbot has added *si* before *près* in which he is followed by the Quebec editor (p. 32).

^c P has, *creste*, while Lescarbot (*op. cit.*, 1609, p. 326) explains *choiste* thus: "C'est à dire, à la cheute desdits rochers."

shoal there is a depth of thirty fathoms and more. Some five leagues to the south-west, beyond the river of the Saguenay and these islands³², lies another island³³. Opposite to this island the north shore is extremely high, and when we tried to anchor there, to let the tide run out³⁴, we could not get bottom at a bowshot from shore in 120 fathoms³⁵. We were thereupon obliged to return to that [Hare] island³⁶, where we anchored in thirty-six fathoms with good bottom.

³² Red islet and Green island.

³³ Cartier on his way home (p. 234) named this island *Ile aux Lièvres* or Hare island and this name has remained. It is given on Mercator's map. *Vid.* also Appendix II, pp. 293 *et seq.*

³⁴ Lescarbot (*op. cit.*, p. 326) has added: "Estaller l'ebbe est ietter l'ancre, attendant que la mer soit basse."

³⁵ The Vallard map gives *Grand Parfont* at this spot. *Vid.* plate X, p. 160. Cf. Bayfield, *op. cit.*, I, 274: "There is no anchorage on the north shore south-west of this [Basque road] to Murray Bay, a distance of 28 miles" The charts give a depth of fifty-three fathoms off cape Dogs opposite Hare island.

³⁶ *Ile aux Lièvres* or Hare island.

³⁷ Friday, September 3.

lesdictes ysles³², envyron cinq lieues vers le surouaist, y a vne aultre ysl³³, vers le nort de laquelle y a de moult^d haultes terres, le travers desquelles cuydames poser l'ancre, pour estaller l'ebbe³⁴, et n'y peusmes treuver le fons à vi^{xx} brasses³⁵, à vng trec^e d'arc de terre, de^f sorte que fumes contrainctz retourner vers ladicte ysl³⁶, où posames^g à trente cinq brasses, et beau fons.

Le landemain³⁷, au matin, fismes voille et appareillasmes pour passer oultre; et eusmes congnoissance | d'une sorte de pois- 97
sons³⁸, desquelz il n'est mémoire d'homme avoyr veu ny ouy. Lesdictz poissons sont aussi groz comme morhous^h, sans avoir aucun estocqⁱ, et sont assez faitz par le corps et teste de la façon d'un levrier, aussi blancs comme^j neige, sans [avoir] aucune tache; et y en a moult^k grand nombre dedans ledict fleuve^l, qui vivent entre la mer et l'eau douce. Les gens du pays les nomment, *adhothuys*^m; et nous ont dict qu'ilz sont fort bons à manger; et si nous ont affermé n'y en avoyr, en tout ledict fleuve, ny pays, que en cest endroyt.

^d P and C have, *fort*. ^e P has, *traict*. ^f C has, *en*. ^g P has, *passames*.

^h P has, *marsouyns*. ⁱ P has, *estre*. ^j P has, *que*. ^k P and C have, *fort*.

^l P has, *la dicte riviere*. ^m A has, *adhotuis*; C, *adhotthuys*.

The next morning³⁷, we made sail and got under way in order to push forward, and discovered a species of fish³⁸, which none of us had ever seen or heard of. This fish is as large as a porpoise but has no fin. It is very similar to a greyhound about the body and head and is as white as snow, without a spot upon it. Of these there are a very large number in this river, living between the salt and the fresh water. The people of the country call them *Adhothuys* and told us they are very good to eat. They also informed us that these fish are found nowhere else in all this river and country except at this spot.

³⁸ Cf. the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 9th edit., vol. XXIV, (Edinburgh 1888), p. 525: "The beluga (*Delphinapterus leucas*) is often called the "white whale," though scarcely exceeding the length of 12 feet. Its colour is almost pure white, and it has no dorsal fin, but a low ridge in its place." A sketch of one "from a specimen taken in the river St. Lawrence, and exhibited in London in 1877," will be found *ibid.*, vol. XV, p. 339, fig. 50. *Vid.* also the photograph in Huard, *op. cit.*, 141 and plate No. XLVI, fig. I of the *Bulletin of the United States National Museum*, No. 36 (Washington, 1889), which contains a *Review of the Family Delphinidæ* by Dr. F. W. True, to whom I am indebted for the above facts and references. On pp. 146-149 of this monograph, Dr. True has given a scientific description of the beluga. Cf. also Sagard, *Grand Voyage*, etc. 51-2.

Le VI^{me} jour dudict moys³⁹, avecq bon vent, fismes courir amont ledict fleuve envyron quinze lieues, et vinsmes poser à vne ysle⁴⁰, qui est bort à la terre du nort, laquelleⁿ faict vne petite baye⁴¹ et conche^o de terre, à laquelle il y a vng nombre inestimable de grandes tortues, qui^p sont es envyrons d'icelle^a ysle. Pareille-
 10^r ment, par ceulx du pays, se | faict es envyrons de ladicte^r ysle grande pescherye de[sdictz]* *adhothuys*, cy davant escriptz⁴². Il y a aussi grand courant es envyrons de ladicte ysle, comme davant Bordeaulx de flo et ebbe⁴³. Icelle ysle contient envyron troys lieues de long⁴⁴ et deulx de laize^s, et est vne fort^t bonne terre et

■ P and C have, *qui*.

° P has, *couche*.

■ C has, *lesquelles*.

° C has, *de ladicte*.

° C has, *d'icelle*.

■ A and P have, *large*.

† P. has, *moult*.

On [Monday] the sixth of that month³⁹, we ran with a favourable wind some fifteen leagues up this river, and came to anchor at an island near the north shore⁴⁰, which here makes a small bay and inlet⁴¹. In this bay and about this island are great numbers of large turtles. The people of the country also fish near this island for the above-mentioned *Adhothuys*⁴². The current here is as strong as at Bordeaux on the ebbing and flowing of the tide⁴³. This [Coudres] island is some three leagues long by two in width⁴⁴. The soil is rich and fertile, and the island is covered with several

³⁹ Monday, September 6.

⁴⁰ *Ile aux Coudres* or Coudres island opposite baie St. Paul, and so named by Cartier himself, p. 119. Cf. also Bayfield, *op. cit.*, I, 318-319: "Prairie bay on the north side of Coudres island . . . is one of the best sheltered anchorages in the river. Vessels may anchor in 10 fathoms or less as convenient, three-quarters of a mile from the shore." This bay is still called, *le havre Jacques-Cartier* or *mouillage de Cartier*. Vid. Pope *op. cit.*, 62.

⁴¹ The Desceliers planisphere calls it *b. de l'Islet*. It is the present baie St. Paul. Vid. plate XIV, p. 224.

⁴² Cf. Bayfield, *op. cit.*, I, 318: "Coudres island is surrounded by reefs, on several of which are large rows of stakes with nets affixed to catch the Marsouin or White fish which frequent this part of the river St. Lawrence in the early part of the summer."

⁴³ Bayfield, *op. cit.*, I, 316: "The ebb stream sweeps round this [St. Paul] bay with a velocity of $7\frac{1}{2}$ knots at spring tides, and makes a dangerous ripple for boats"; and also pp. 320 and 320-322. The river Garonne at Bordeaux is extremely dangerous both on account of its strong current and of the many sand-bars which obstruct its course.

⁴⁴ Coudres island is six miles long and two and a half in width. Vid. also Pope, *op. cit.*, 39-40, note 17, and Champlain, *Œuvres*, III, 158.

grasse, plaine de beaulx et grandz arbres de plusieurs sortes⁴⁵. Et entre aultres, y a plusieurs couldres franches, que^u [nous]* treuvastes fort chargez de nozilles, aussi grosses et de meilleur saveur que les nostres, mais vng peu plus dures; et pour^v ce, la nommasmes *l'isle es Couldres*⁴⁶.

Le VII^e jour dudict moys, jour Nostre Dame⁴⁷, après avoir ouy la messe, nous partismes de ladicte yse pour aller amont ledict fleuve; et vinsmes à xiiii ysles⁴⁸, qui estoient distantes de ladicte yse es Couldres de sept à huict lieues, qui est le commencement de la terre et prouvynce de Canada⁴⁹. Desquelles y en a vne grande⁵⁰ qui a envyron dix lieues de long et cinq de

C'est l'île
d'Orleans.

^u C has, *lesquelz nous*.

^v A and P have, *parce*. There is an abbreviation in B and C.

species of fine large trees⁴⁵. Amongst others we found many hazel-bushes, loaded with hazel-nuts as large as ours and better-tasting, though a little more bitter. On this account we named the island "Hazel-bush island"⁴⁶.

On [Tuesday], the seventh of the month, being our Lady's day⁴⁷, after hearing mass, we set out from this [Coudres] island to proceed up stream, and came to fourteen islands⁴⁸ which lay some seven or eight leagues beyond Coudres island. This is the point where the province and territory of Canada begins⁴⁹. One of these islands is large, being some ten leagues long and five leagues wide⁵⁰, and is inhabited by Indians who are much employed in

⁴⁵ Cf. J. G. A. Creighton, *op. cit.*, II, 707: "The whole surface of Isle aux Coudres . . . is spread out to your view, a lovely panorama. Over its clumps of spruce and cedar, its groves of maple and birch and hazel, you see the south shore," etc.

⁴⁶ It is still called by this name which is given on the Vallard map, on the Harleian and Desceliers mappemondes and on the Mercator map. *Vid.* plates VIII, X, XII and XV, pp. 128, 160, 192 and 240 *infra*.

⁴⁷ The anniversary of the Virgin's birth really fell on Wednesday, September 8. Ramusio got over the difficulty by putting *la vigilia della Madonna*, whence Florio's "our Ladies even." Cf. Faillon, *Histoire de la Colonie française en Canada*, I, 13, note. Villemarie, 1865.

⁴⁸ There are in reality fifteen: Goose, Crane, Mill, Race, Middle, Canoe, Crowl, Margaret, Two Heads, Cliff, Grosse (the Quarantine station), Brothers, Patience, Reaux and Madame, without counting the island of Orleans.

⁴⁹ *Vid.* p. 103 *supra*, note 69.

⁵⁰ The island of Orleans, so called by Cartier himself (p. 232) though he also named it isle of Bacchus. *Vid.*, p. 126 *infra*. It is twenty-one miles long and seven wide. Cf. Champlain, *Œuvres*, III, 159.

10^v laize ^w, où ^x il y a | gens demourans qui font grande pescherie de tous les poissons qui sont dedans ledict fleuve, selon les saisons^y, de quoy sera faict cy après mention⁵¹. Nos estans posez et à l'ancre entre icelle grande yse et la terre du nort⁵², fumes^z à terre, et portasmes les deux hommes^a que nous avyons prins le précédent voiaige⁵³; et treuvasmes plusieurs gens du pays, lesquels commencèrent à fuyr, et ne voullurent^b aproucher jusques ad ce que lesdictz^c deux hommes commencèrent à parler, et leur dire qu'ilz estoient Taïnoagny^d et dom⁵⁴ Agaya^e. Et lors qu'ilz eurent congnoissance d'eulx⁵⁵, commencèrent à faire grand chère^f, danssant et faisant plusieurs serimonyes; et vindrent partie^g

Verte folia duo.

^w A and P have, *large*. ^x P and C have, *en laquelle*. ^y P has, *leur saison*.

^a P has, *allasmes*. ^b P has, *sauvaiges*. ^b P has, *vouloient*.

^c P and C have, *nosdictz*.

^d One can also read *Taiguragny* as did Lescarbot wherein he was followed by the Quebec editor. P however has the above spelling which is also the reading in Ternaux-Compans. A seems to have read, *Taiguragny*.

^e These two words have previously always been printed as one, though they are kept quite separate in all the MSS. and are so printed in P.

^f P has, *a demener ioye*.

^g P has, *parler*.

fishing for the many varieties of fish caught in this river, according to the season. Mention will be made of these fish farther on⁵¹. After we had cast anchor between this large island and the north shore⁵², we went on land and took with us the two Indians we had seized on our former voyage⁵³. We came upon several of the people of the country who began to run away and would not come near, until our two Indians had spoken to them and told them that they were Taïnoagny and Dom⁵⁴ Agaya. And when they knew who it was⁵⁵, they began to welcome them, dancing and going through many ceremonies. And some of the headmen came to our long-boats, bringing us many eels and other fish,

⁵¹ According to Champlain (*Œuvres*, III, 159) these were principally sturgeon.

⁵² Cf. Bayfield, *op. cit.*, I, 323: "Orleans channel is suitable only for vessels drawing 15 feet or less, as there are several shoals nearly in mid-channel with that depth."

⁵³ *Vid.* p. 66 *supra* and *infra* p. 196.

⁵⁴ Cf. Joüon des Longrais, *op. cit.*, 138: "Dom au XVI^e siècle, dans la Haute Bretagne et particulièrement à Saint-Malo, indique un prêtre et un prêtre séculier, spécialement même un prêtre non pourvu de canonat ou du bénéfice d'une cure, un simple chapelain, un prêtre libre, comme nous dirions."

⁵⁵ Florio has: "who [i.e. the Canadians] as soone as they had taken acquaintance of them," i.e. Taïnoagny and Dom Agaya.

des principaulx à noz bateaulx, lesquelz nous apportèrent^h force anguilles et aultres poissons, avecq deux ou troys charges de groz mil, qui est le pain duquelⁱ ilz vivent en ladicte^j terre, et plusieurs groz mellons⁵⁶. Et icelle journée, vindrent à noz navires plusieurs barques dudict pays, chargées de gens, tant hommes que femmes, pour veoyr et faire chère à nosdictz deulx hommes⁵⁷, lesquelz furent tous bien receuz par ledict^k cappitaine, qui les festoya de ce qu'il peult, et pour faire sa congnoissance leur donna aucuns petitz présens de peu de valleur, desquelz^l se contentèrent fort. |

Le landemain⁵⁸, le seigneur de Canada, nommé Donnacona^{11 r} en nom, et l'appellent pour seigneur *agouhanna*^{m 59}, vint avecq douze barques, acompagné de plusieurs gens, davant noz navires; puis, en fict retirer arrière dix, et vint seullement avecques deulx [desdictes barques]* à bort desdictz navires, acompagné de seize

Donnacona
Agonhanna

^h P has, *apportoient*. ⁱ P and C have, *dequoy*. ^j C has, *leur*.

^k P and C have, *nostre*. ^l P has, *de quoy*.

^m P has, *Agouhanna* which is also the reading in Lescarbot (*op. cit.*, 329) who adds: "*Agouhanna* nom de Seigneur, ou capitaine."

with two or three measures of Indian corn, which is their bread in that country, and many large melons⁵⁶. And during that day many canoes filled with the people of the country, both men as well as women, came to our ships to see and welcome our two Indians⁵⁷. The Captain received them all well and treated them to what he had to offer. And to ingratiate himself with them, he gave them some small presents of little value, at which they were much pleased.

On the morrow⁵⁸, the lord of Canada, named Donnacona (but as chief they call him *Agouhanna*⁵⁹), came to our ships accompanied by many Indians in twelve canoes. He then sent back ten of these and came alongside our ships with only two canoes. And when he was opposite to the smallest of our three ships [*Emérillon*], this *Agouhanna* began to make a speech and to harangue us, moving his body and his limbs in a marvellous manner, as is their

⁵⁶ Florio has, "many gret musk milions."

⁵⁷ Florio has, "take acquaintance of our two men."

⁵⁸ Wednesday, September 8.

⁵⁹ Van Curler (*loc. cit.*), gives *Aguayanderen* as the old Mohawk word for chief, while the modern form is *Rakowana*. In the Oneida dialect the form is *Hagoáno*. Cf. Schoolcraft, *op. cit.*, 265, No. 62.

pour lors ne fut autre présent faict audict seigneur, actendant lieu et temps. Après lesquelles choses [ainsi] faictes, se despartèrent les vngs des | aultres, et prindrent congé; et se retira ledict *agou-*^{11v}
hanna^w à^x ses barques, pour soy^y retirer et aller en son lieu. Et pareillement ledict^z cappitaine fict apprester noz^a barques, pour passer oultre, et aller amont^b ledict fleuve avecq le flo, pour sercher hable et lieu de sauueté pour mectre les navires. Et fumes oultre ledict fleuve envyron dix lieues, cottoyant ladicte ysle⁶², et au bout^c d'icelle trouvasmes vng affourcq^d d'eaues⁶³, fort beau et plaisant, auquel lieu y a vne petite ripvière et hable de basre⁶⁴, marinant de deulx à troys brasses, que trouvasmes lieu à nous propice pour mectre nosdictz navires à sauueté. Nous nommasmes ledict lieu^e *sainte Croix*⁶⁵ pource que ledict jour y arrivasmes⁶⁶. Auprès d'icelluy lieu y a vng peuple dont est

^w C has, *seigneur*.

^x P and C have, *en*.

^y P has, *se*; C has, *pour s'en aller à son lieu*.

^z C has, *nostre*.

^a P has, *ses*.

^b P has, *avant*.

^c P has, *bort*.

^d P has, *asseurg*.

^e C has, *ladicte ripviere*.

made to the chief, pending a more suitable time and place. After these things had been thus carried out, they took leave of each other and separated, the said *Agouhanna* returning to his canoes to make his way home again. And the Captain likewise ordered out our long-boats to make our way up the stream with the flood tide, to find a harbour and safe spot in which to lay up the ships. And we went some ten leagues up the river, coasting this island [of Orleans], at the end of which we came to a forking of the waters⁶³, which is an exceedingly pleasant spot, where there is a small river and a harbour with a bar⁶⁴, on which at high tide, there is a depth of from two to three fathoms. We thought this river [St. Charles] a suitable place in which to lay up our ships

⁶² Orleans.

⁶³ It is the fork formed by the St. Charles and the St. Lawrence. Cf. Champlain, *Œuvres*, III, 159-160: " & n'y a audit affour, comme l'appelle Quartier, aucune riviere que celle qu'il nomma sainte Croix, distante de l'isle d'Orleans d'une bonne lieue, où de basse mer n'y a que demie brasse d'eau . . . & . . . de plaine mer . . . il y a 3 brasses d'eau," etc. On reaching the Basin of Quebec the St. Lawrence swings off to the left while the St. Charles lies right ahead.

⁶⁴ The river St. Charles. Lescarbot (*op. cit.*, 1609, p. 330) has added: " Hable de barre, & c'est à dire Havre qui asseche de basse mer, & y a de deux à trois brasses d'eau de haute mer."

seigneur ledict Donnacona, et y est sa demeure, lequel^f se
 Stadaconé nomme Stadaconé⁶⁷, qui est aussi bonne terre qu'il soit possible
 de veoyr, et bien fructififerante, plaine de moult^g beaulx arbres,
 de la nature et sorte de France, comme^h chaisnes, hourmes, fren-
 nes, noyers, pruniers, yfz, seddrez, vignes, aubespines, qui por-
 tent [le] fruit aussi groz que prunes de Damas, et aultres arbres,
 Chanvre soubz lesquels croist de aussi bon chanvre que celluy de France,
 sauvage lequelⁱ vient sans semance ny labour. Après avoyr visité ledict
 12⁷ lieu et treuvé estre convenable, | se retira ledict^j cappitaine et
 les aultres dedans les barques, pour retourner aux^k navires; et
 ainsi que sortimes hors [de] ladicte ripvière⁶⁸, trouvastes, au-

^f P and C have, *qui*.^g P has, *fort*.^h C has, *savoir*.ⁱ P has, *qui*.^j C has, *nostre*.^k P and C have, *es*.

in safety. We named it "Ste. Croix"⁶⁵, as we arrived there that day⁶⁶. Near this spot lives a tribe of which this Donnacona is chief, and he himself resides there. The village is called Stadacona⁶⁷. This region is as fine land as it is possible to see, being very fertile and covered with magnificent trees of the same varieties as in France, such as oaks, elms, ash, walnut, plum-trees, yew-trees, cedars, vines, hawthorns, bearing a fruit as large as a damson, and other varieties of trees. Beneath these grows as good hemp as that of France, which comes up without sowing or tilling it. After visiting this river [St. Charles] and finding it suitable, the Captain and the others returned to the long-boats in order to go

⁶⁵ The river appears on the Harleian and Desceliers mappemondes and on the Mercator map as *Stadin flu*. Cf. also Thevet, *Cosmographie universelle*, II, 1010^v: "Ce fut en leur terre, que les François bastirent, il y a long temps, vn fort . . . & fut basti ce fort à cause d'une riviere d'eau douce, nommee *Stadin*, qui l'avoisine," etc. Further on however (p. 126) Cartier calls it, *la ripviere sainte Croix*.

⁶⁶ The anniversary of the Elevation of the Cross fell on Tuesday, September 14. This was still Wednesday, September 8, but it was not until Tuesday that the ships were brought to the mouth of the river St. Charles or to "Ste. Croix harbour" as the name is given on the Harleian and Desceliers mappemondes. The two larger vessels were warped into the St. Charles on Thursday the sixteenth. *Vid.* p. 130 *infra*.

⁶⁷ Lescarbot has printed this word *Stadaconé* just as he also put *Caquetdazé* (p. 106) and *Razé* (p. 239). There are of course no accents of any sort in the MSS. P printed it only once with an accent (p. 39b). It is given on the Harleian

davant de nous l'vng des seigneurs dudict peuple de Stadaconé, acompaigné de plusieurs gens, tant hommes, femmes¹ [que enfans], lequel seigneur commança à faire vng preschement, à la façon et modde du pays, qui est de joye et assurance, et les femmes danssoient et chantoyent sans cesse, estans^m en l'eau jusques es genoilz⁶⁹. Leⁿ cappitaine, voyant leur bonne amour et bon voulloir, fict aprocher la barque où il estoit, et leur donna des cousteaulx et petites patenostres de verre^o; de quoy menèrent vne merveilleuse joye, de sorte que nous estans despartiz d'avecq eulx, distant d'une lieue ou envyron⁷⁰, les ouyons chanter, dansser et mener feste^p de nostre venue.

¹ A, B and C have only, *tant hommes que femmes*.

^m B is torn here. A and P have as in the text, while C gives, *lesquelles estoient*.

ⁿ P and C have, *Nostre*.

^o P has, *voirre*.

^p P has, *ioye*.

back to the ships. And as we came out of the river⁶⁸, we saw one of the headmen of the Stadacona Indians coming to meet us, accompanied by several men, women and children; and he began to make an harangue, expressing joy and contentment after the manner of the country, while the squaws danced and sang uninterruptedly, being in the water up to their knees⁶⁹. The Captain, seeing their great affection and good-will, ordered the long-boat in which he was seated to go towards them, and gave them some knives and glass-beads, at which they showed wonderful pleasure. And when we were a league or so away⁷⁰, we still heard them singing, dancing and rejoicing over our visit.

mappemonde but the Desceliers planisphere has, *Estadacone*. In the edition of 1617 (p. 303), Lescarbot has added: "Stadaconé c'est aujourd'hui Kebec," after Champlain, *Œuvres*, III, 159. *Vid.* pp. 195-196 *infra*. The English form is first given in 1556 by Ramusio and was copied in 1580 from the Italian by Florio who spelt it "Stadagone." Hakluyt corrected this to Stadacona which has now the sanction of age.

⁶⁸ St. Charles.

⁶⁹ These Indians doubtless came to the west point of the St. Charles where the Quebec docks have since been built; for Stadacona lay under the north brow of cape Diamond. *Cf.* Champlain's *Works*, I, 108: "Ils ne bougent d'un lieu en dansant, & font quelques gestes & mouvemens du corps, levans un pied, & puis l'autre, en frappant contre terre"; and *Œuvres*, IV, 90: "Ils [the Hurons] n'ont que deux sortes de dances qui ont quelque mesure, l'une de quatre pas, & l'autre de douze comme si on dançoit le Triolyde Bretagne."

⁷⁰ Ramusio has *tre miglia*, while Florio gives, "about 3 leagues."

COMME LE^q CAPPITAINE RETOURNA AUX^r NAVIRES, ET ALLA VEOYR L'ISLE⁷¹, LA GRANDEUR ET NATURE D'ICELLE; ET COMME IL FICT MENER LES-DICTZ NAVIRES À LA RIPVIÈRE SAINCTE CROIX⁷². |

12^v Après que nous fumes arrivez avecques les^s barques ausdictz^t navires, et retournez de la ripvière sainte Croix⁷², le^u cappitaine commanda aprester lesdictes barques, pour aller à terre à ladicte ysle⁷¹ veoyr les arbres, qui sambloient à veoir fort beaulx, et la nature de la terre d'icelle ysle; ce qui fut faict. Et [nous] estans à ladicte ysle, la trouvasmes plaine de fort beaulx arbres, comme chaisnes, hourmes, pins, seddrez et aultres boys de la sorte des nostres; et pareillement y treuvastes force vignes, ce que n'avions veu, par cy davant, à toute la terre; et pour ce, la nommasmes *l'isle de Bascuz*^{v73}. Icelle ysle tient de longueur

^q P and C have, *nostre*.

^r P has, *es*.

^u P has, *noz*.

^t C has, *esdictz*.

^u C has, *nostre*.

^v A has, *Baccus*; P, *Bacchus*.

HOW THE CAPTAIN RETURNED ON BOARD THE SHIPS, AND WENT TO VISIT THE ISLAND⁷¹; THE NATURE AND SIZE OF THE SAME; AND HOW HE HAD THE SHIPS BROUGHT INTO THE RIVER STE. CROIX⁷².

When we had arrived with our long-boats at the ships on our return from the river Ste. Croix⁷², the Captain ordered the long-boats to be manned again in order to go on shore at the island [of Orleans] to examine the trees, which appeared to be very fine, and also to see the nature of the soil of that island; which was done. And on reaching the island, we found it covered with very fine trees, such as oaks, elms, pines, cedars and other varieties like our own; and we likewise found there a great store of vines, which heretofore we had not seen in all this region. On that account we named the island "Bacchus's island"⁷³. This island is some twelve leagues in length⁷⁴, and in appearance is

⁷¹ The island of Orleans.

⁷² The St. Charles.

envyron douze lieues⁷⁴, et est moult^w belle terre [à veoir], et vnye, [mais est] plaine de boys, sans y avoir aucun labouraige, fors qu'il y a [aucunes] petites maisons, où ilz font pescherie, comme par cy devant est faict mention.

Le landemain⁷⁵, partismes avecq nosdictz navires, pour les mener audict lieu de sainte Croix, et y arrivasmes le landemain XIII^e dudidit moys^x. Et vindrent audavant de nous lesdictz Donnacona, | Taignoagny^y et dom Agaya, avecq^z vingt cinq¹³⁷ barques chargées de gens, lesquelz^a venoient du lieu d'où^b estions partiz, et alloient audict Stadaconé, où est leur demourance; et vindrent tous à noz navires, faisant plusieurs signes de joye, fors les^c deulx hommes que avions apportez, savoir, Taignoagny^d et

^w P has, *fort*.

^x C has, *XIII^e jour de septembre*.

^y C has here, *Taignouagny*.

^z C has, *acompaigned de*.

^a P has, *qui*.

^b P has, *dudidit lieu dont*.

^c P has, *noz*; C, *fors que noz*.

^d P has here, *Thaignoagny*.

a fine flat land, covered with timber, without any of it being cultivated, except that there are a few small cabins which the Indians use for fishing as has been mentioned above.

On the following day⁷⁵, we set sail with our ships to bring them to the spot called Ste. Croix, where we arrived the next day, [Tuesday] the fourteenth of the month. And Donnacona, Taignoagny and Dom Agaya came to meet us with twenty-five canoes filled with Indians who were coming from the direction whence we had set out and were making towards Stadacona, which is their home. And all came over towards our ships, showing many signs of joy, except the two Indians we had brought with us, to

⁷³ Cartier farther on (p. 232) also called it *île d'Orléans* in all probability after Charles Duke of Orleans, the third son of Francis I. This name alone is given on the Desliens, Vallard and Homem maps, on the Harleian mappe-monde and on the Desceliers planisphere. The Mercator map however gives, *y. d'Orleans aliis de Baccho*.

⁷⁴ See p. 119, note 50.

⁷⁵ According to the text this would be Thursday, September 9, but several days are evidently omitted; for the day after the fourteenth is called Tuesday. It was therefore Monday, September 13. *Vid.* p. 124 *supra* note 66.

Hochelaga

dom Agaia^e, lesquelz estoient tous changez de propotz et de couraige, et ne voullurent^f entrer dedans nosdictz navires, non obstant qu'ilz en fussent plusieurs foys priez; de quoy eusmes aucune deffiance [d'eulx]. Le^g cappitaine leur demanda s'ilz vouloient aller, comme ilz luy avoient promys, avecq luy à Hochelaga⁷⁶, et ilz [luy]* respondirent que ouy, et qu'ilz estoient deliberez y aller; et alors chascun se retira.

Et le landemain, quinziesme [jour] dudict moys, le^h cappitaine, acompagné de plusieurs de ses gens, fut à terre, pour faire planter ballises et merches pour plus seurement mectre les navires à saufveté⁷⁷. Auquel lieu trouvasmes, et se rendirent audavant de nous, grand nombre desⁱ gens du pays, et entre aultres les-
 13^v dictz Donnacona, noz | deulx hommes et leur bande, lesquelz

^e Spelt elsewhere *Agaya*.

^f P has, *vouloient*.

^g C has, *Nostre*.

^h P has, *ledict* while C gives, *nostre cappitaine avecq plusieurs alla à terre*.

ⁱ A has, *de*, while P and C give, *plusieurs gens*.

wit, Taignoagny and Dom Agaya, who were altogether changed in their attitude and goodwill, and refused to come on board our ships, although many times begged to do so. At this we began somewhat to distrust them. The Captain asked them if they were willing to go with him to Hochelaga⁷⁶, as they had promised, and they replied that they were and that it was their intention to go there. Upon this each retired.

And on the following day [Wednesday], the fifteenth of the month, the Captain went ashore with a number of his men to set out buoys and landmarks that the ships might be laid up with more care⁷⁷. We found a large number of the people of the

⁷⁶ The region about the Lachine rapids. The word in the Huron tongue means, "at the beaver-dam." *Vid. Transactions of the Royal Society*, 1st ser., II, ii, 78. Cf. also Pope, *op. cit.*, 84, note 46.

⁷⁷ Lescarbot (*op. cit.*, 1609, p. 333) has added: "Es ports de mer où n'y a gueres de profond, on plante des balises & remarques pour la conduite des vaisseaux." Cf. Champlain, *Œuvres*, III, 157 and 160. *Vid.* also the Quebec edition of Cartier's *Voyages*, p. 110, note 4: "Du temps de M. de Champlain le lit de la rivière St. Charles était embarrassé de rochers énormes, dont beaucoup furent employés vers 1755 à la construction d'une digue pour mettre en sureté les bateaux du roi. Depuis plusieurs années cette digue n'est plus visible, étant comprise dans la longueur des quais qui s'avancent maintenant (1842) jusqu'au chenal de la rivière."

se tindrent à part, soubz vne poincte de terre, qui est sus le bort dudict^j fleuve⁷⁸, sans que^k aucun d'eulx vynt envyrion nous, comme les aultres, qui n'estoient de leur bande, faisoient. Et après que ledict cappitaine fut adverty qu'ilz y estoient, commanda à partie de ses gens aller avecques luy, et furent vers eulx soubz ladicte poincte, et treuvèrent le[s]dict[z] Donnacona, Taignoagny, dom Agaya et [plusieurs] aultres [de leur bande]. Et après se estre entresaluez^l, s'avança ledict Taignoagny de parler, et^m dist audictⁿ cappitaine que ledict^o seigneur Donnacona estoit marry, dont ledict cappitaine et ses gens portoient tant de bastons de guerre, pource que, de leur part, n'en portoient nulz. A quoy respondit le cappitaine, que pour sa^p marrisson ne laisseroit à

^j P has, *d'ung*.

^k P has, *sans ce que*.

^l A has, *se estre saluez*.

^m C has, *lequel dict*.

ⁿ P has, *à nostre*.

^o C has, *leur*.

^p P has, *leur respondist ledict cappitaine que pour leur marrisson, etc.*

village coming to meet us, and among the rest, Donnacona, our two Indians, and their friends, who kept apart on a point of land on the bank of the river⁷⁸ [St. Lawrence], without one of them coming towards us, as did the others, who were not of their party. And the Captain, being informed of their presence, ordered some of his men to accompany him, and went towards the point of land where they were, and found Donnacona, Taignoagny, Dom Agaya and several others of their party. After they had mutually saluted each other, Taignoagny began to make a speech and to say to the Captain, that Chief Donnacona was vexed that the Captain and his people carried so many weapons when they on their side carried none. To this the Captain replied that for all Donnacona's grief, he would not cease to carry them since such was the custom in France as Taignoagny well knew. But for all this the Captain and Donnacona were most friendly towards each other. Then we understood that what Taignoagny had been saying came solely from himself and his companion⁷⁹; for before we went away,

⁷⁸ St. Lawrence. It was probably on the point where the Quebec docks are now built.

⁷⁹ Dom Agaya. Florio has: "was only long of himself and of his fellow," where "long of" has the sense of "by the fault of."

les porter, et que c'estoit la coustume de France, et qu'il le savoit bien. Mais pour toutes le[ur]s parolles, ne laissèrent lesdictz^a cappitaine et Donnacona à faire grand chère ensemble. Et lors apersumes que tout ce que disoit ledict Taignoagny, ne venoit que de luy et son compaignon⁷⁹; car avant despartir^r dudict lieu, firent vne assurance, le[s]dict[z]^s cappitaine et seigneur, de sorte merveilleuse; car tout le peuple dudict [seigneur] Donnacona, 14^r ensemblement^t, gectèrent et firent troys | criz, à plaine voix, que c'estoit chose orrible à ouyr⁸⁰, et attant prindrent congé les vngs des aultres; et nous retirasmes à bort pour celluy jour.

[Et] le landemain, XVI^{me} jour dudict moys⁸¹, nous mismes noz deulx plus grandz navires dedans ledict hable et ripvière⁸², où il y a de plaine mer trois brasses, et de bas d'eaue, demye brasse; et fut laissé le gallion⁸³ dedans la radde, pour mener à^u Ho(u)chelaga^v. Et tout incontinent que lesdictz navires furent audict

^a C has, *nostredict*. ^r P has, *Et avant de partir*. ^s C has, *nostre*.

^t C has, *tous ensemble*. ^u P has, *audict*.

^v Elsewhere B has, *Hochelaga* which is also the reading here in the other MSS. and in P.

the Captain and the chief made a compact together in the most strange manner; for the whole of Donnacona's people cried out all together, and gave three shouts in such a loud manner that it was awful to hear⁸⁰. After that they took leave of each other; and we returned on board our ships for that day.

On the morrow [Thursday], the sixteenth of that month⁸¹, we placed our two largest vessels inside the harbour and river⁸², where at high water there is a depth of three fathoms, and at low tide, half a fathom. But the bark⁸³ was left in the roadstead

⁸⁰ Cf. Champlain's *Works*, I, 100-101: "Ils respondirent tous d'une voix: *ho, ho, ho*, qui est à dire *ouy, ouy*." Vid. also Lescarbot, *op. cit.*, 1609, p. 796: "Quand ils arrivoient chez nous, la salutation estoit *Ho, ho, ho* . . . Or soit que la salutation *Ho, ho*, signifie quelque chose, ou non (car ie n'y sçay aucune signification particulière) c'est toutefois une salutation de ioye, & la seule voix *Ho, ho*, ne se peut faire que ce ne soit quasi en riant, temoignans par là qu'ils sont joyeux de voir leurs amis." In his *Dictionnaire de la langue huronne* (Paris, 1632), Sagard gives "*Ho, ho, ho*," as "Grand mercy." Vid., also his *Grand Voyage*, 106; Peter Jones, *op. cit.*, 95-6 and 106; and *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, V, 164, 248 and 252.

⁸¹ Thursday, September 16.

⁸² The St. Charles. These were the *Grande Ermine* and the *Petite Ermine*.

⁸³ The *Emérillon*.

hable et assec^w, se^x treuvèrent davant lesdictz navires lesdictz Donnacona, Taignoagny et dom Agaya, avecques plus de cinq cens personnes, tant hommes, femmes que [petis] enffans; et entra ledict seigneur, avecques^y dix ou douze aultres des plus grandz personnaiges [du pays], lesquelz furent par ledict cappitaine et aultres festoiez et receuz selon leur estat; et leur fut donné aucuns petitiz présens. Et fut par Taignoagny dict audict^z cappitaine, que ledict seigneur [Donnacona] estoit marry dont il alloit à Hochelaga, et que ledict seigneur ne vouloit poinct que luy, qui parloit, [y] allast avecques luy, comme il avoyt promys, pource que la ripvière ne valloyt rien⁸⁴. | A quoy fict responce ledict ^{14v} cappitaine^a, que pour tout ce, ne laisseroit y aller, s'il luy estoit possible, pource qu'il avoit commandement du Roy, son maistre, d'aller au^b plus avant^c qu'il luy seroit possible^d; mais si ledict

^w P has, *asseur*.

^x From A and P. B and C have, *ce*.

^y C has, *accompaignez de*.

^y P has, *à nostre*.

^a P has, *& leur fust respondu*; C, *Et lors nostre cappitaine fict responce*.

^b C has, *le*.

^c The copyist of B first wrote, *amont* and then corrected it to the above.

^d P has, *qu'il pourroit*.

to take us to Hochelaga. And as soon as the two vessels had been brought into the harbour and had grounded, Donnacona, Taignoagny and Dom Agaya came about them with more than 500 people, both men, women and children; and the chief came on board with ten or twelve of the headmen of the village, who were feasted and fêted by the Captain and others, according to their rank; and some small presents were given to them. And Taignoagny told the Captain that chief Donnacona was annoyed because he [Cartier] intended to go to Hochelaga, and was most unwilling that Taignoagny should accompany him, as he had promised to do; for the river was not worth exploring⁸⁴. To this the Captain made reply, that notwithstanding this he would use his efforts to reach there; for he had orders from the king his master to push on as far as possible; and that if Taignoagny were willing to come along, as he had promised, a present would be made to him which would please him, and he would be well enter-

⁸⁴ Florio has: "the River [St. Lawrence] was of no importance." Lescarbot, *op. cit.*, 1609, p. 335 has added: "c'est une façon de parler des Sauvages, pour dire qu'elle est dangereuse, comme de vérité elle est, passé le lieu de sainte Croix." Lescarbot identified this latter with the river of cap Rouge.

Taignoagny y vouloit^e aller, comme il avoit promys, que on luy feroit présent, de quoy^f il seroit content, et grand chère, et qu'ilz ne feroient seulement que aller veoyr Hochelaga, puis retourner^g. A quoy respondict ledict Taignoagny qu'il n'[y] yroit point. Lors^h se retirèrent à leurs maisons.

Et le landemain, XVII^e [jour]* dudict moys⁸⁵, ledict Donnacona et les aultres revindrent, comme davant, et apportèrent force anguilles et aultres poissons, duquelⁱ se fait grand pescherie audict fleuve, comme sera cy après dict. Et lors qu'ilz furent arrivez davant nosdicts navires, commencèrent à dansser et chanter, comme ilz avoient de coustume. Et après qu'ilz eurent ce^j taict, fist ledict Donnacona mettre tous ses gens d'un costé, et
 15^r fict vng | cerne sus le sablon, et y fict mettre ledict^k cappitaine et ses gens. Puy^l commença vne grande harangue, tenant vne fille, d'environ de l'aige de dix [à douze] ans, en l'une de ses mains;

^e P has, *voulant*. ^f C has, *duquel*.

^g P has, *que aller et venir seulement audict Hochelaga*, while C gives, *que aller veoyr seulement ledict Hochelaga et puy retourner*.

^h C has, *Et lors*. ⁱ P and C have, *dequoy*. ^j From A, P and C. B has, *se*.

^k P and C have, *nostre*. ^l P and C have, *& lors*.

tained; and that they would merely go and see Hochelaga and return. Taignoagny answered that under no circumstances would he go. Upon this the Indians retired to their wigwams.

And the next day [Friday], the seventeenth of the same month⁸⁵, Donnacona and the others came back and brought a quantity of eels and other fish, which are caught in great numbers in this river [St. Lawrence], as shall be set forth farther on. And on arriving in front of our two ships, they began to dance and to sing as usual. After this Donnacona had all his people place themselves on one side, and having made a ring in the sand, caused the Captain and his men to stand inside it. He then began a long harangue, holding by the hand a girl of about ten or twelve years of age, whom at length he presented to the Captain. Thereupon the whole of the Chief's people raised three shouts and cries in sign of joy and alliance⁸⁶. He next made him a present of two small boys of tenderer age, one after the other, on which the people gave vent to the same shouts and cries as before. After

⁸⁵ Friday, September 17.

⁸⁶ *Vid.* p. 130 note 80.

puis la vint présenter audict^m cappitaine. Et lorsⁿ, tous les gens dudict seigneur se prindrent à faire troys criz [et hurlemens], en signe de joye et alliance⁸⁶. Puys^o, de rechef, presenta deulx petitz garçons, de moindre aige, l'un apres l'autre, desquelz firent telz criz et serimonyes que davant. Duquel présent [ainsi faict], fut ledict seigneur par ledict cappitaine remercyé^p. Et lors Taignoagny dist audict cappitaine que la fille estoit la propre fille de la seur dudict seigneur [Donnacona]*, et l'un des garçons frère de luy qui parloyt⁸⁷; et que on les luy donnoyt sur l'intencion qu'il ne allast point à Hochelaga. A quoy luy respondist nostre cappitaine^q, que si on les luy avoit donnez sur ceste intencion, que on les reprînt, et que pour rien [il]* ne laisseroit essaier^r à aller audict Hochelaga, pource qu'il avoit commandement de

^m P and C have, *à nostre*. ⁿ P has, *tout incontinent*. ^o C has, *Et puys*.

^p P has, *Duquel present ainsi faict par le dict seigneur fut par nostre cappitaine remercié*, while C gives the same as B, with the exception of, *par nostredict cappitaine*.

^q From P. A and B have, *Lequel cappitaine respondit*, while C gives, *A quoy respondit ledict cappitaine*.

^r A has, *essayer*; C, *essayer*. It is omitted in P.

the Captain had thanked the Chief for the presents thus made to him, Taignoagny told the Captain that the girl was the own daughter of Chief Donnacona's sister, and that one of the boys was his, the speaker's, brother⁸⁷; and that these children had been given to him to the intent he should not go to Hochelaga. To this our Captain replied that in case they had been given to him with that intent, they must be taken back; for that nothing would induce him to forgo the attempt to make his way to Hochelaga, since such were his orders.⁸⁸ On hearing this Dom Agaya, Taignoagny's companion, told the Captain that the Chief had given him these children out of pure affection and in sign of alliance; and that he [Dom Agaya] was willing to accompany the Captain to Hochelaga. At this Taignoagny and Dom Agaya had high words together, whereby we were convinced, as well from this as by other bad turns we had seen him do, that Taignoagny

⁸⁷ Florio has, "The Lord tolde our Captain then, that one of the children was his owne brother and that the maiden child was daughter unto his owne sister" where he misunderstood Ramusio's correct Italian.

⁸⁸ *Vid.* p. 46, note 14.

ce faire⁸⁸. Sur lesquelles parolles, dom Agaya, compaignon du-
dict Taignoagny, dist audict cappitaine que ledict seigneur luy
avoit donné lesdictz enffans par bonne amour et en signe d'asseu-
15^v rance, et qu'il estoit | content de aller avecq ledict cappitaine
à^s Hochelaga. De quoy heurent grosses parolles lesdictz Taigno-
agny et dom Agaya, dont^t apersumes que ledict Taignoagny ne
valloit riens⁸⁹, et qu'il ne songeoit que trahison [et malice], tant
pour^u ce, que aultres mauvais tours que luy avyons veu faire.
Et sur ce, ledict cappitaine fict mettre lesdictz enffans dedans
les navires; et fict apporter deux espées, vng grand bassin d'arin,
plain, et vng ouvré, à^v laver mains, et en fict présent audict Don-
nacona, qui^w fort s'en contenta, et remercia ledict^x cappitaine.
Et commanda [ledict Donnacona] à tous ses gens chanter et dans-
ser, et pria [ledict Donnacona] le^y cappitaine faire tirer vne piece

⁸⁸ P has, *avec luy audict*; C gives also, *audict*.

^t P and C have, *lors*.

^u A has, *par ce*. There is an abbreviation in P.

^v P has, *pour*.

^w P and C have, *lequel*.

^x P has, *nostre*.

^y P has, *nostre*; C, *ledict*.

was a worthless fellow⁸⁹, who was intent on nothing but treason and malice. The Captain then ordered the children to be placed on board the ships, and had brought to him two swords, a large, plain, brass wash-basin and one that was worked, and of these he made a present to Donnacona, who was extremely pleased and thanked the Captain. And Donnacona called to his people to sing and to dance; and begged the Captain to have a piece of artillery discharged because Taignoagny and Dom Agaya had given him great accounts of it⁹⁰, and neither he nor his people had ever seen or heard of artillery⁹¹. The Captain answered that he would do so, and ordered a dozen canon⁹² to be fired with their bullets

⁸⁹ Florio has, "was a craftie knave."

⁹⁰ Florio has, "made great brags of it."

⁹¹ Cf. p. 114 note 22.

⁹² Cf. Jal, *op. cit.*, 244b: "Barce—Nom d'une petite pièce d'artillerie dont on se servait à bord des navires de guerre au XVI^e siècle. L'art. 60 de l'édit rendu par Henri III, en mars 1584 . . . statue que le navire de 30 à 40

d'artillerye, pource que [lesdictz] Taignoagny et dom Agaya luy en avoient faict feste⁹⁰, et aussi que jamais n'en avoyent veu ny ouy⁹¹. [A quoy] lequel cappitaine respondict qu'il en estoit content², et commanda tirer^a vne douzaine de barges⁹², avecques leurs bouulletz, le travers du boys, qui estoit joignant^b lesdicts navires et gens. De quoy furent tous si estonnez, qu'ils panssoient que le ciel fust cheu sur eulx; et se prindrent à huller^c et hucher si très-fort, qu'il sembloit que enffer y fust vuydé⁹³. Et auparavant^d qu'ilz se retirassent, ledict Taignoagny | fict dire, 167 par interposéez personnes, que les compaignons du gallion, [lequel estoit demouré à la radde]^e, avoyent tué deulx de leurs gens de coups d'artillerye; dont se retirèrent tous si à grand haste, qu'il sembloyt que les voulsissions tuer^f. Ce que ne se treuva vérité; car, durant ledict jour, ne fut dudict gallion tyré artillerye.

^a P has, *qu'il le vouloit bien*.

^a P and C have, *que on tirast*.

^b P and C have, *iouxte*.

^c P has, *hurler*.

^d P has, *davant*.

^e From P. A, B and C have, *lesquelz estoient en la radde*.

^f P and C have, *dont tous se retirèrent à grand haste ainsi que si les eussions voulu tuer*.

into the wood that stood opposite to the ships and the Indians. These were all so much astonished as if the heavens had fallen upon them, and began to howl and to shriek in such a very loud manner that one would have thought hell had emptied itself there⁹³. And before they retired, Taignoagny sent word by others, that the sailors on board the bark [*Emérillon*], that lay out in the roadstead, had fired their cannon and had killed two Indians, whereupon all skurried off in such haste that one would have thought we had wished to destroy them. This report proved false; for no shot was fired that day from the bark.

tonneaux aura deux doubles Barces; que le navire de 50 à 60 tonneaux aura 4 Barces; que celui de 70 à 80 tonneaux aura 6 Barces; que celui de 90 à 100 tonneaux aura 8 Barces; enfin, que le navire de 110 à 120 tonneaux en aura 12." According to this regulation the *Grande Ermine* would have had twelve, the *Petite Ermine* four and the bark two such cannon. *Vid.* also J. M. Pardessus, *Collection de lois maritimes antérieures au XVIII^e siècle*, IV, 311-312, art. LX, Paris, 1837 in 4°.

⁹³ Florio has, "that it seemed hel were broken loose."

COMMENT LESDICTZ DONNACONA, TAIGNOAGNY
ET AULTRES SONGÈRENT VNE FINESSE, ET FIRENT
HABILLER TROYS HOMMES EN GUISE DE DIABLES,
FAIGNANS ESTRE VENUZ DE PAR CUDOUAGNY^g,
LEUR DIEU, POUR NOUS EMPESCHER D'ALLER À^h
HOCHELAGA.

Le landemain, dix-huictiesme jour dudict moys, pour nous
16^v cuyder tousiours empescher | d'aller à Hochelaga, songèrent vne
grande finesse⁹⁴, qui fut telle. Ilz firent habillerⁱ trois hommes
en la façon de trois diables, lesquelz estoient vestuz [de peaulx] de
chien^j, noirs et blancs, et avoyent [des]* cornes aussi longues que
le bras, et estoient painctz par le visaige de noir, comme charbon^k;
et les firent mectre dedans vne de leurs barques, à nostre non sceu.

^g P has always, *Cudriagny* while Belleforst gives, *Cudruagny*. Lescarbot, Faribault and Ternaux-Compans have read, *Cudouagny*. *Vid.*, pp. 139 and 179.

^h P has, *audict*.

ⁱ P has, *ilz habillèrent*.

^j A has, *chiens*.

^k P and C have, *et avoient le visaige painct aussi noir que charbon*.

HOW DONNACONA, TAIGNOAGNY AND THE OTHERS
DEvised A RUSE, AND DRESSED UP THREE
INDIANS AS DEVILS, WHO PRETENDED TO BE SENT
FROM THEIR GOD CUDOUAGNY TO PREVENT US
FROM GOING TO HOCHELAGA.

On the next day [Saturday], the eighteenth of the month, they devised a great ruse⁹⁴ to prevent us still from going to Hochelaga. They dressed up three Indians as devils, arraying them in black and white dog-skins, with horns as long as one's arm and their faces coloured black as coal, and unknown to us put them into a canoe. They themselves then came towards our ships in a crowd as usual but remained some two hours in the wood without appearing, awaiting the moment when the tide would bring down the above-mentioned canoe. At that hour they all came out of the wood and showed themselves in front of our ships but without coming so near as they were in the habit of doing.

⁹⁴ Florio has, "a pretty guile." It was still September.

Puys vindrent avecq leur bande¹, comme [ilz] avoyent de coutume, auprès de noz navires, et^m se tindrent dedans le boys, sans apparestreⁿ, envyron deux heures, actendant que l'heure et marée fust venue pour l'arrivée de ladicte barque. A laquelle heure, sortirent tous [du boys], et se presentèrent davant nosdictz^o navires, sans eulx aprocher, ainsi qu'ilz souloient faire. Et commança [ledict] Taignoagny à saluer le^p cappitaine, lequel^q luy demanda, s'il vouldoyt avoyr le batteau⁹⁵. A quoy^r luy respondict ledict Taignoagny, que non pour l'heure, mais que tantost il entreroit dedans lesdictz navires. Et incontinent arryva ladicte barque, où estoient lesdictz troys hommes, apparessant estre trois diables, ayans de grandes cornes sus leurs testes, et faisoit celluy du meilleu, en venant, vng merveillex sermon; et^s

¹ P and C have, & leur bande vint.

^m P has, *lesquelz*.

ⁿ C has, *sans eulx monstrer*.

^o P and C have, *lesdictes*.

^p P has, *nostre*.

^q P and C have, *qui*.

^r P and C have, *lequel*.

^s P has, *lesquelz*.

And Taignoagny proceeded to greet the Captain, who asked him if he wished the ship's boat⁹⁵. Taignoagny answered that he did not wish it for the moment but that presently he would come on board the ships. Soon after arrived the canoe in which were the three Indians dressed as devils, with long horns on their heads. And as they drew near, the one in the middle made a wonderful harangue, but they passed by our ships without once turning their faces towards us, and proceeded to head for the shore and to run their canoe on land. Chief Donnacona and his people at once seized the canoe and the three Indians, who had let themselves fall to the bottom of it like dead men, and carried them, canoe and Indians, into the wood which was distant a stone's throw from our ships; and not a soul remained in sight but all retired into the wood. And there in the wood they began a preaching and a speechifying that could be heard from our ships, which lasted about half an hour. After that, Taignoagny and Dom Agaya came out of the wood, walking in our direction⁹⁶,

⁹⁵ To be sent ashore for him.

⁹⁶ Florio has, "and beyng ended, we gan to espie Taignoagny and Domagaya comming towards us."

- 17^r passèrent le long de noz navires avecq leurdict^e barque, sans aucunement tourner leur veue vers nous; et allèrent assener et donner en terre avecq leurdict^e barque. Et tout incontinent, ledict [seigneur] Donnacona et ^t ses gens prindrent ladicte barque et lesdictz trois hommes, lesquelz s'estoient laissez cheoir au fons d'icelle comme gens mors, et portèrent le tout ensemble dedans le boys, qui estoit distant desdictz navires d'un gect de pierre; et ne demoura vne seulle personne [devant nosdictes navires], que tous ne se retirassent dedans ledict boys. Et eulx, estans retirez [audict boys] ^u, commencèrent vne predication et preschement, que nous oyons de noz navires, qui dura envyron demye heure. Après laquelle, sortirent lesdictz Taignoagny et dom Agaya dudict boys, marchant vers nous ⁹⁶, ayans les mains jointes ⁹⁷ et leurs chappeaulx soubz leurs coddres ⁹⁸, faisant vne grande admyration. Et commança ledict Taignoagny à dire et proférer, par troys foys, "*Jesus, Jesus, Jesus*," levant les yeulx vers le ciel. Puis ^v

^t C has, *avec*.

^u P has only, & *eulx estans audict boys* but C gives the full reading in the text.

^v C has, *et puis*.

with their hands joined ⁹⁷, and their caps under their arms ⁹⁸, pretending to be much astonished. And Taignoagny began to speak and repeated three times "*Jesus*," "*Jesus*," "*Jesus*," lifting his eyes towards heaven. Then Dom Agaya called out "*Jesus*," "*Maria*," "*Jacques Cartier*" looking up to heaven as the other had done ⁹⁹. The Captain, seeing their grimaces and gesticulations, began to ask them, what was the matter, and what new event had happened? They replied that there was bad news, adding that indeed it was far from good ¹⁰⁰. The Captain again

⁹⁷ Ramusio has put, *le mani giunte in alto*, whence Hakluyt's "holding their hands upward ioyned together." Florio has merely, "holding their handes ioyned togyther."

⁹⁸ Literally "elbows." Ramusio has *il capello sotto la loro vesta*, whence Florio's "carying their hattes under theyr upper garment."

⁹⁹ Lescarbot (*op. cit.*, 1609, p. 340) has added: "Il avoit appris cette façon de parler en France."

¹⁰⁰ Lescarbot has added (*op. cit.*, 1609, p. 340): "c'est à dire, qu'elles ne sont point bonnes," which the Quebec editor (p. 39) copied. The word *nenny* according to Palsgrave (*op. cit.*, 146) meant then as now, "nay." Ramusio has put, *dicendo in francese nenni est il bon cioè non è ella bona*, whence Florio's "saying in French, *Nenni est il bon*, that is to saye, *it was not good*."

dom Agaya commança à dire, "*Jesus*," "*Maria*," "*Jacques Cartier*," regardant [vers] le ciel comme l'autre⁹⁹. Et le cappitaine, voyant leurs mines et serymonies, leur commança à demander, qu'il y avoit, et que c'estoit qui estoit survenu | de nouveau. 17^v Lesquelz respondirent qu'il y avoit de piteuses nouvelles, en disant, nenny est il bon¹⁰⁰. Et le ^w cappitaine leur demanda de rechef, que c'estoit. Et ilz luy [repon]dirent^x que leur dieu, nommé Cudouagny^y, avoit parlé à Hochelaga, et que les trois Cudonagny. hommes davantdictz estoient venuz de par luy, leur anoncer les nouvelles, et qu'il y auroit^z tant de glasses et neiges¹, qu'ilz mourroient tous. Desquelles parolles nous prinsmes tous à rire, et leur dire que [leur dieu] Cudouagny n'estoit que vng sot² et qu'il ne savoit qu'il disoit³, et qu'ilz le dissent à ses messaigiers; et que Jesus les garderoit bien de froit, s'ilz luy voullotent croire. Et lors ledict Taignoagny et son compaignon^a demandèrent audict cappitaine, s'il avoit parlé à Jesus et il [leur]* respondit que

^w P has, *ledict*.^x C has, *commancèrent à dire*.^y P has here and lower down, *Cudragny*. A seems to have copied *Cudonagny* from the margin of B. Cf., p. 136 *supra*, note g.^z P has, *avoit*.^a C has, *et dom Agaya*.

asked them what was the trouble? They answered that their god, Cudouagny by name, had made an announcement at Hochelaga, and that the three above-mentioned Indians had come in his name to tell them the tidings, which were that there would be so much ice and snow¹ that all would perish. At this we all began to laugh and to tell them that their god Cudouagny was a mere fool² who did not know what he was saying³; and that they should tell his messengers as much; and that Jesus would keep them safe from the cold if they would trust in him. Thereupon Taignoagny and his companion asked the Captain if he had spoken to Jesus; and he replied that his priests had done so and that there would be fine weather. On this they thanked the Captain extremely,

¹ Ramusio translated P's text of *qu'il y avoit* as follows: *che v'era tanto ghiaccio & neve che coloro equali v'andrebbono, morrebbono tutti quanti*. This Florio rendered by, "that there was so muche Ice and Snowe by the way, that whosoever went thither shoulde dye"; while Hakluyt has "that there was so much yce and snow in that country, that whatsoever," etc. as in Florio.

² Ramusio has, *un matto & scempio* whence Florio's, "a foole and a noddy."

³ Florio has, "what he did or saide."

ses prebstres y avoient parlé et qu'il feroit beau temps. De quoy^b remercièrent fort ledict cappitaine, et s'en retournèrent^c dedans le boys dire les nouvelles aux^d aultres, lesquelz^e sortirent dudict boys, tout incontinent, faignans estre joieulx desdictes parolles [par ledict cappitaine ainsi dictes]. Et pour monstrier qu'ilz en estoient joieulx, tout incontinent qu'ilz furent devant les navires, commancèrent, d'une commune voix, à faire troys criz et hulle-
 187 mens^f, | qui est leur signe de joie⁴, et se prindrent [à] dansser et chanter, comme avoient de coustume. Mays, par^g resolution, lesdictz Taignoagny et dom Agaya dirent audict^h cappitaine que ledict [seigneur] Donnacona ne vouloit point que nul d'eulx allast à Hochelaga avecques luy, s'il ne bailloit pleige, qui demourast à terre avecq ledict Donnacona. A quoy leur respondit le cappitaineⁱ, que s'ilz n'estoient deliberez y aller de bon couraige, qu'ilz demeurassent, et que pour eulx, ne laisseroit mettre paine y aller.

^b P has, *Desquelles parolles.*

^c P has, *se retirent.*

^d C has, *es.*

^e P has, *qui.*

^f P has, *hurlemens.*

■ This word is abbreviated in B. A has, *par*, while P and C have, *pour*.

^h P has, *à nostre.*

ⁱ P has, *Le cappitaine leur respondist.*

and returned to the wood to tell the news to the others, who at once came forth pretending to be pleased at what the Captain had said. And to show their joy, as soon as they came opposite to the ships, they with one voice began to give three shouts and cries, which is their way of showing joy⁴; and began to dance and to sing as usual. But by collusion Taignoagny and Dom Agaya told the Captain that Chief Donnacona was unwilling that either of them should accompany him to Hochelaga unless he [Cartier] should leave a hostage behind on shore with Donnacona. To this the Captain replied that if they were not ready to go willingly, they could stay at home, and that on their account he would by no means give up his attempt to reach that place.

⁴ *Vid.* p. 130 *supra*, note 80.

COMMENT LE^j CAPPITAINE ET TOUS LES GENTILZ-HOMMES, AVECQ CINQUANTE MARINIERS^k, PARTIRENT DE LA PROUVYNCE DE CANADA⁵ AVECQ LE GALLION ET LES DEULX BARQUES, POUR ALLER À HOCHELAGA; ET DE CE QUI FUT VEU ENTRE D'EULX SUS LEDICT FLEUVE. |

Le landemain, dix-neufiesme jour dudict mois de septembre, ^{18^v} comme dict est, nous appareillames, et fymes voile avecq le¹ gallion et les deulx barques pour aller avecq la marée amont ledict fleuve⁶, où trouvasmes à veoir, des deulx coustez d'icelluy, les plus belles et meilleures terres qu'il soit possible de veoir, aussi unies^m que l'eau, plaines des beaulxⁿ arbres du monde, et tant de vignes, chargeez de raisins, le long dudict fleuve, qu'il semble mieulx qu'elles y aient estez plantées de main d'hommes, que aultrement; mais pource qu'elles ne sont cultivées, ny taillées,

Vignes & roisins

^j P has, *nostre*.

^k P has the word, *hommes* before, *mariniers*. Cf. p. 171. note u.

¹ P has, *ledict*.

^m P has read, *vives*.

ⁿ A has, *plus beaux* in the margin.

HOW THE CAPTAIN AND ALL THE GENTLEMEN SET FORTH FROM THE PROVINCE OF CANADA⁵ WITH THE BARK, THE TWO LONG-BOATS AND FIFTY SAILORS TO MAKE THEIR WAY TO HOCHELAGA; AND WHAT THEY SAW ALONG THE RIVER ON THE WAY.

The following day [Sunday], September 19, we made sail and got under way with the bark [*Emérillon*] and the two long-boats, as already stated, in order with the tide to push on up the river⁶. Along both shores we had sight of the finest and most beautiful land it is possible to see, being as level as a pond and covered with the most magnificent trees in the world. And on the banks were so many vines loaded with grapes that it seemed they could only have been planted by husbandmen; but because they are never looked after nor pruned, the grapes are not so sweet

⁵ *Vid.* p. 103 *supra* note 69, and *infra* p. 190.

⁶ Neither Taïnoagny nor Dom Agaya accompanied the expedition. *Vid.* p. 191 *infra*.

ne sont lesdictz raisins si doux, ni si groz comme^o les nostres. Pareillement nous trouvasmes grand nombre^p de maisons sus la rive dudict fleuve, lesquelles sont habitées de gens qui font grande pescherie de tous bons poissons, selon les saisons. Lesquelles gens^q venoyent à noz navires en^r aussi grand amour et privaulté, que si eussions esté du pays, nous apportant force poisson, et de ce qu'ilz avoyent, pour avoir de nostre marchandise, 19^r tandens les mains | au ciel, et faisant plusieurs serimonies et signes de joie. Et nous estans posez envyron vingt cinq lieues de Achelacy Canada⁵, à^s vng lieu nommé Achelacy⁷, qui est vng destroit dudict fleuve, fort courant et dongereux, tant de pierres que d'autres choses, là^t vindrent plusieurs barques à bort⁸; et entres

^o P has, *si groz & si doux que*, etc.

^p P has, *beaucoup*.

^q From P. A, B and C have only, *et*.

^r P and C have, *d'aussi*.

^s P and C have, *en*.

^t C has inserted, *et* before this word.

nor so large as our own. We likewise noticed a large number of huts along the banks of the river, which are inhabited by Indians, who catch great quantities of the numerous good fish in the river, according to the season. These people came towards our boats in as friendly and familiar a manner as if we had been natives of the country, bringing us great store of fish and of whatever else they possessed, in order to obtain our wares, stretching forth their hands towards heaven and making many gestures and signs of joy. And when we had come to anchor some twenty-five leagues from Canada,⁵ at a place called Achelacy,⁷ which is a narrow passage in the river where the current is swift and the navigation dangerous, both on account of the rocks as for other causes, there came several canoes to our ships⁸; and among the rest came a great

⁷ P has, *Ochelacy* while C gives, *Achelayy*. The Harleian mappemonde, the Mercator and Le Vasseur (Harrisse, *op. cit.*, 194) maps give, *Hochelay*, which is also the reading in the text (p. 196 *infra*) and in the third Relation (p. 256). The place meant is evidently Portneuf opposite Platon point at the foot of the Richelieu rapids, thirty-two miles from Quebec. Cf. Champlain, *Œuvres*, III, 161: "Ce qu'on appelle aujourd'huy S. Croix s'appelloit lors Achelacy, destroit de la riviere, fort courant & dangereux, tant pour les rochers qu'autres choses, & où on ne peut passer que de flot, distant de Quebecq & de la riviere où yverna led. Quartier 15 lieues," and also *ibid*, 174-175.

aultres, y vint vng grand seigneur du pays, lequel ^u fit ^v vng grant sermon, en venant et arryvant à bort, monstrant par signes evidans, avecques les mains et aultres serimonyes, que ledict fleuve estoit, vng peu plus amont ^w, fort dongereulx, nous advertissant de nous en donner garde⁹. Et présenta celluy seigneur au cappitaine deulx de ses enffans à dom, lequel print vne fille, de l'aige d'envyron huiet à neuf ans^x, et reffusa^y vng petit garçon de deux ou troys ans, pource qu'il estoit trop petit. Ledict cappitaine festiva^z ledict seigneur et sa bande de ce qu'il peult, et luy donna aucun petit present, duquel^a remercia ledict seigneur le cappi-

^u C has, *qui*.

^v P has, *faisoit*.

^w P has, *avant*.

^x P has, *enfants, desquelz le cappitaine print vne fille de l'aage d'environ sept a huict ans*, while C reads, *et print ledict cappitaine vne fille*, etc. as in B.

^y P has, & *reffusant*.

^z P has, *festoya*.

^a C has, *aucuns petitiz presens, dequoy*.

chief of this region, who made a long harangue as he came on board, pointing out to us clearly by signs and in other ways that the river was extremely dangerous a little higher up, and warning us to be on our guard⁹. And this chief presented the Captain with two of his children; but the latter would only accept a girl of some eight or nine years of age and refused a little boy of two or three as being too young. The Captain fêted the Chief and his party as well as he could, and made him a small present, for which he thanked the Captain. Then the Indians went back on shore. And since then, this chief and his wife have come as far

⁸ Lescarbot (*op. cit.*, 1609, p. 348) has added: "abord: façon de parler signifant dans le navire"; but it seems nearly always to signify merely "along-side." *Vid.* pp. 115-116 and 121-122 *supra*.

⁹ Cf. Bayfield, *op. cit.*, I, 337-338; "The first great difficulty in the navigation is Richelieu rapid, which commences just above Portneuf [32 miles above Quebec] and extends nearly to Grondines, 41 miles above Quebec. In the narrowest part of Richelieu rapid the channel at low water is between extensive shoals of immense boulder stones, and only 460 yards wide. There is water enough for any vessel but there is only one hour of very weak stream of flood, while the ebb runs in spring tides at the rate of fully 7 knots. This is therefore a difficult and dangerous pass, which, before there were steamboats on the St. Lawrence, used often to cause great delay to vessels in those seasons when westerly winds prevail."

taine; puis s'en allèrent à terre. Et depuis sont venuz celluy^b seigneur et sa femme, veoir leur fille jusques à Canada¹⁰, et apporter aucun petit present au cappitaine. |

19^v Depuis ledict dix-neufviesme jour jusques au XXVIII^e dudict mois¹¹, nous avons esté navigans amont ledict fleuve, sans perdre heure ny jour. Durant lequel temps, avons veu et trouvé [d']aussi beau pays, et terres aussi vnyes que l'on sçauroit desirer, plaines, [comme dict est], des beaulx arbres du monde, savoir: chaisnes, hourmes, noyers, pins, seddrez, pruchez, frannez, Vignes bouldx^c, sauldres, oziers, et force vignes, qui est le meilleur, lesquelles^d avoient si grand abondance^e de raisins, que les compaignons¹² en venoient tous chargez à bort¹³. Il y a pareillement^f force grues, signes, oultardes, ouayes, cannes, allouettes, faisans,

^b A has, *ledict*.

^c P has, *briez*.

^d C has, *qui*.

^e C has, *quantité*.

^f P has, *seulement*, no doubt on account of the first syllable of the word in the text being contracted, so that the two words look somewhat alike.

as Canada¹⁰ to see their daughter, and brought the Captain a small present.

From [Sunday], the nineteenth until [Tuesday], the twenty-eighth of the month¹¹, we continued to make our way up the river without losing a day nor an hour. During this time we saw and discovered as fine a country and as level a region as one could wish, covered, as before mentioned, with the finest trees in the world, such as oaks, elms, walnuts, pines, cedars, spruce, ash, box-wood, willows, osiers and better than all, a great quantity of grape-vines, which were so loaded with grapes that the sailors came on board with their arms full of them¹³. There are likewise many cranes, swans, bustards, geese, ducks, larks, pheasants, partridges, blackbirds, thrushes, turtledoves, goldfinches, canaries, linnets, nightingales¹⁴, sparrows and other birds, the same as in France, and in great numbers.

¹⁰ *Vid.* p. 103 *supra* note 69.

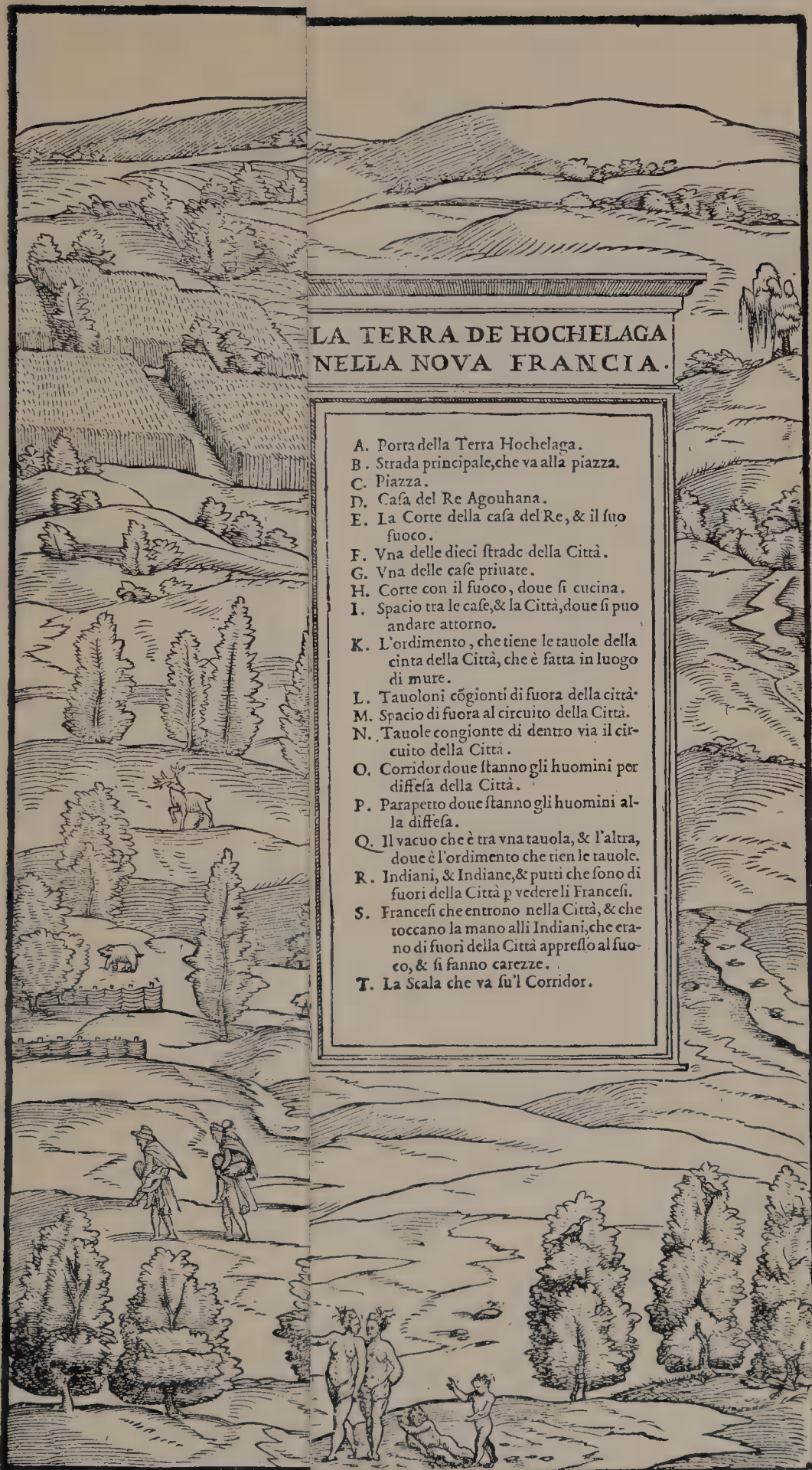
¹¹ Sunday, September 19 to Tuesday, September 28.

¹² Lescarbot (*op. cit.*, 1609, p. 348) has added: "c'est à dire les matelots."

¹³ Cf. Champlain's *Works*, I, 131: "Le pays est beau & vny, & les terres meilleures qu'en lieu que i'eusse veu, avec quātité de bois"; and *Ibid.* 140: "Il y a aussi quantité de vignes sur le bord desdictes isles."

LA TERRA DE HOCHELAGA NELLA NOVA FRANCIA.

- A. Porta della Terra Hochelaga.
- B. Strada principale, che va alla piazza.
- C. Piazza.
- D. Casa del Re Agouhana.
- E. La Corte della casa del Re, & il suo fuoco.
- F. Vna delle dieci strade della Città.
- G. Vna delle case priuate.
- H. Corte con il fuoco, doue si cucina.
- I. Spacio tra le case, & la Città, doue si puo andare attorno.
- K. L'ordimento, che tiene le tauole della cinta della Città, che è fatta in luogo di mure.
- L. Tauoloni cõgionti di fuora della città.
- M. Spacio di fuora al circuito della Città.
- N. Tauole congiunte di dentro via il circuito della Città.
- O. Corridor doue stanno gli huomini per difesa della Città.
- P. Parapetto doue stanno gli huomini alla difesa.
- Q. Il vacuo che è tra vna tauola, & l'altra, doue è l'ordimento che tien le tauole.
- R. Indiani, & Indiane, & putti che sono di fuori della Città p vederli Francesi.
- S. Francesi che entrono nella Città, & che toccano la mano alli Indiani, che erano di fuori della Città appresso al fuoco, & si fanno carezze.
- T. La Scala che va su'l Corridor.



perdrix, merles, mauviz, turtres, chardonnereulx, serins, lunottes, Oyseaux
rossignolz¹⁴, [passes solitaires] et aultres oiseaulx, comme en
France, et en grand habondance.

Ledict XXVIII^{eg} jour de septembre, nous arrivasmes à^h vng
grand lac¹⁵ et plaine dudict fleuve, large d'envyron cinq ou six
lieues, et douze de long; et navigasmes celluy jour amont ledict
lac, sans trouver par tout | icelluy que deux brasses de parfond, 20^r
esgallement, sans haulcer ny baisser¹⁶. Et nous arrivant à l'vn
des boutz dudict lac, ne nous apparessoit aucun passage ny sortie,
ainsⁱ nous sembloit icelluy estre tout cloz, sans aucune ripvière;
et ne trouvâmes audict bout que brasse et demye; dont nous
convint poser et mettre l'ancre hors, et aller chercher passage
avecq noz^j barques. Et trouvâmes qu'il y a quatre ou cinq
ripvières, toutes sortentes dudict fleuve en icelluy lac, et venantes
dudict Hochelaga, mays en icelles^k ainsi sortentes, y a barres et
traverses, faictes par le cours de l'eaue, où il n'y avoit pour lors

^h P has, 18, which however Ramusio corrected. ^h P has, en.

ⁱ C has, mays. ^j P has, les. ^k P has, icelluy.

On [Tuesday] September 28, we reached a large lake¹⁵ where
for twelve leagues the river widens out to a distance of some five
or six leagues. We made our way up this lake that day without
finding anywhere a depth of more than two fathoms, neither
more nor less¹⁶. And on reaching the head of this lake we could

¹⁴ Cf. J. H. Hunter in *Picturesque Canada*, II, 680: "Our melodious song-sparrow was mistaken for a nightingale."

¹⁵ Lake St. Peter, which is twenty miles long and eight miles wide. Although there is no mention in the text of the imposition of a name, the Vallard, Mercator, Hakluyt and Le Vasseur maps and the Desceliers planisphere call it *le lac d'Angoulesme*. Cf. also Thevet, *Cosmographie universelle*, II, 1011^v: "La riviere de Hochelaga . . . vous fait vn lac, qui a pour le moins vingt lieuës de large . . . Ce lac porte le nom d'Angoulesme . . . à l'honneur d'vn des feux enfans de France, fils du grand Roy François, Duc d'icelle ville." This was Charles, the third son of Francis I. Champlain reached it on St. Peter's day, June 29, 1603 whence the modern name. *Vid.* Grant's *Lescarbot*, II, 113.

¹⁶ Florio has, "still keeping the saide scantling," i.e. scanty depth. Cf. Bayfield, *op. cit.*, I, 340-341: "The distance up this lake . . . is about 18 miles of which about 4 miles are over a flat of sand and clay, on which there were not more than 10 or 12 feet in the ordinary state of the waters. There is only now a depth of 10½ feet at low water in the autumn . . . Afterwards a ship channel 300 feet wide and with 18 feet water in it was completed by dredging." This is now thirty feet deep.

que vne brasse de parfond. Et lesdictes barres passées, y a quatre et cinq brasses, qui estoit le temps des plus petites eaues de l'année, ainsi que [nous] vymes¹ par les flotz desdictes eaues, qu'elles croissent de plus de deux brasses de pic.¹⁷

Toutes icelles ripvières circuyssent et environnent cinq ou six belles ysles¹⁸, qui font le bout d'icelluy^m lac, [et]* puis se rassemblent, envyron quinze lieues à mont, toutes en vne¹⁹. Celluy
 20^v jour fumes à l'vne d'icelles, | où trouvasmes cinq hommes qui prenoient des bestes sauvaiges, lesquelz vindrent aussi privement à noz barques, que s'ilz nous eussent veu toute leur vie, sans avoir peur ny craincte. Et nosdictes barques arriveez à terre, l'vn d'iceulx hommes print ledictⁿ cappitaine entre ses braz, et le

¹ P has, *vinmes*.

^m P has, *dudict*.

ⁿ P has, *nostre*.

see no passage nor outlet; but it seemed quite landlocked without any stream flowing into it; and at this end there was a depth of only a fathom and a half. On that account we had to heave to and drop the anchor, and to go and look for a way out with our long-boats. And we discovered that there are four or five branches of the river entering the lake here from the direction of Hochelaga, but that they have bars and shoals in them formed by the current. At that time there was a depth here of only one fathom, but after passing these bars, there is a depth of four and five fathoms. This was the season of the year when the water was lowest, as we could see from the flood-mark of the river, which rises more than two fathoms higher¹⁷.

These various branches encircle and enclose five or six fine islands¹⁸ which form the terminus of the lake. Some fifteen

¹⁷ Ramusio has *tre braccia d'altezza*, whence Hakluyt's "higher by three fadomes." Florio gives "two faddomes."

¹⁸ Raisin, Monk, Boat, Stone, Grace, Bear and Eagle islands at the head of lake St. Peter. On the Harleian and Desceliers mappemondes they are called, *les y^s d'Angoulesme*. See plates VIII and XII pp. 128 and 192.

porta à terre aussi [legierement]^o qu'il eust faict^p vng enfant de six^q ans, tant estoit celluy homme fort et grand. Nous leur trouvasmes vng grand monceau de ratz sauvaiges²⁰, qui vont^r en l'eaue, et^s sont groz comme conninz, et bons à merveilles^t à menger, desquelz firent present audict^u cappitaine, qui leur donna des cousteaulx et patenostres pour recompance. Nous leur demandasmes par signes si c'estoit le chemyn de Hochelaga; et ilz nous monstrèrent que ouy, et qu'il y avoyt encores troys journées à y aller. |

^o This word is omitted in all the MSS.

^p P has, *que sy seust esté*; C; *comme si s'eust esté*.

^q P and C have, *cinq*.

^r P has, *lesquelz vivent*.

^s C has, *lesquelz*.

^t C has, *fort bons*.

^u P has, *à nostre*.

leagues higher up, these branches all unite into one stream¹⁹. The same day we visited one of these islands where we came across five Indians who were hunting for game. They came to meet our boats without fear or alarm, and in as familiar a manner as if they had seen us all their lives. And when our long-boats grounded, one of those Indians took the Captain in his arms and carried him on shore as easily as if he had been a six-year-old child, so strong and big was that Indian. We discovered that they had a great heap of musk-rats²⁰, which live in the water and are as large as rabbits and wonderfully good to eat. They made a present of these to the Captain who in return gave them some knives and some beads. We asked them by signs if this was the way to Hochelaga? They made clear to us that it was, and that we had still a three days' journey thither.

¹⁹ Beyond Sorel the St. Lawrence again becomes one stream.

²⁰ Lescarbot (*op. cit.*, 1609, p. 350) has added: "Rats de riviere dont les genitoires sont musquées comme celles du Castor."

21^r

COMMENT LE CAPPITAINE FICT ACOUSTRER LES
BARQUES POUR ALLER À^v HOCHELAGA, ET LAIS-
SER^w LE GALLION, POUR LA DIFFICULTÉ DU PAS-
SAIGE; ET COMMENT NOUS ARRIVASMES AUDICT
HOCHELAGA, ET LE RAQUEUL QUE LE PEUPLE
FIST À NOSTRE ARRYVÉE.

Le landemain²¹ nostre cappitaine, voyant qu'il n'estoit possible de pouvoir, pour lors, passer ledict gallion, fist avictailler et acoustrer les barques, et mettre victailles pour le plus de temps qu'il fut possible, et que lesdictes barques en peurent accueillir. Et se^x partit avecq icelles, acompagné de partie des gentilzhommes, savoir: de Claude du Pontbryand,²² eschansson de monseigneur le Daulphain, Charles de La Pommeraye²³, Jehan Gouyon²⁴, [Jehan Poulet²⁵] et^y xxviii mariniers, y compris Macé Jalobert²⁶ et Guillaume Le Breton²⁷, ayans la charge soubz

^v P has, *audict*.

^w P has, *laisserent*.

^x From P. A, B and C have, *ce*.

^y P and C have, *avec*.

HOW THE CAPTAIN GAVE ORDERS FOR THE
LONG-BOATS TO BE FITTED OUT FOR THE VOYAGE
TO HOCHELAGA; AND FOR THE BARK TO BE LEFT
BEHIND, ON ACCOUNT OF THE DIFFICULT PASSAGE;
AND HOW WE REACHED HOCHELAGA; AND OF THE
RECEPTION THE PEOPLE GAVE US ON OUR ARRIVAL.

On the morrow²¹ our Captain, seeing it was impossible to get the bark past this spot at that season, ordered the long-boats to be fitted out and provisioned, and stores to be put into them for as long a period as possible and as the long-boats would hold. And he set out in them accompanied by a few of the gentlemen, to wit: Claude du Pontbriant²², cup-bearer to His Royal Highness

²¹ Wednesday, September 29.

²² *Vid.* p. 93 *supra*, note 13.

²³ *Vid.* p. 93 *supra*, note 15.

²⁴ This was perhaps Jean de Goyon, seigneur de Thaumatz et du Marchaix, or his son who bore the same name. *Vid.* La Chenaye-Desbois et Badier, *Dictionnaire de la Noblesse*, 3^{ème} édit., IX, cols. 622-623, Paris, 1866.

ledict Cartier² des | deulx aultres navires²⁸, pour aller amont ^{21v}
ledict fleuve, au plus loing qu'il nous²⁹ seroit possible. Et navi-
gasmes de temps à gré, jusques au deuxiesme³⁰ jour d'octobre,
que nous arrivasmes à Hochelaga³¹, qui est distant du lieu où es-
toit demouré le^a gallion, de envyron quarente cinq lieues. Du-
rant lequel temps^b et chemin faisant, trouvassmes plusieurs gens
du pays, qui^c nous apportoint du poisson et aultres victailles,
dassant et menant grand joye de nostre venue. Et pour les
attraire et tenir en amytié avecq nous, leur donnoit ledict cappi-
taine pour recompance, des cousteaulx, pathenostres et aultres
menues hardes^d, de quoy se contentoyent fort^e. Et nous arryvez
audict Hochelaga, se randirent audavant de nous plus de mil
personnes, tant hommes, femmes, que enfans, lesquelz nous

² P has, *soubz le cappitaine*.

^a P has, *ledict*.

^b P has, *Auquel & chemin faisant*; C, *Auquel temps*, etc. as in B.

^c P and C have, *lesquelz*.

^d P has, *choses*.

^e P has, *dequoy estoient fort contens*; C, *desquelz estoient fort contens*.

the Dauphin, Charles de La Pommeraye²³, John Guyon²⁴,
John Poulet²⁵, with twenty-eight sailors including Macé Jalo-
bert²⁶ and William Le Breton²⁷, who had command, under
Cartier, of the other two vessels²⁸, in order to make our²⁹ way up
the river as far as we possibly could. And we sailed on in as fine
weather as one could wish until [Saturday] October 2³⁰, when we
arrived at Hochelaga³¹, which is about forty-five leagues from the
spot where we had left our bark. During this interval we came

²⁵ *Vid.* p. 93 *supra* note 16.

²⁶ *Vid.* p. 94 *supra* note 18.

²⁷ *Vid.* p. 94 *supra* note 20.

²⁸ The *Petite Ermine* and the *Emérillon*. *Vid.* pp. 93-94 *supra*.

²⁹ John Poulet seems to have been the redactor of these Relations. *Cf.* p. 93, note 16.

³⁰ P has, *dixneufiesme*, whence Florio, following Ramusio, gave, "till the nineteenth of October"; but Hakluyt corrected this.

³¹ The Indian village on the island of Montreal. The name is given on the Vallard, Homem, Mercator, Hakluyt and Le Vasseur maps. The distance from the head of lake St. Peter to Montreal is forty-five miles.

furent aussi bon raqueul que jamais père fist à enffant³², menant vne joye merveilleuse; car les hommes en vne bande danssoient, et les femmes de leur part^f, et les enffans d[e l']aultre³³. Et
 22^r après ce^g, nous apportèrent force poisson, et de leur pain, faict | de groz mil, lequel ilz^h gectoient dedans nosdictes barques, en sorte qu'il sembloit qu'il tumbast de l'ayr³⁴. Voyant ce, leⁱ cappitaine descendict à terre, acompagné de^j plusieurs de ses gens; et si tost qu'il fut descendu, se assemblèrent tous sur luy et sus [tous] les aultres, en faisant vne chère inestimable. Et^k apportoit les femmes leurs enffans à brassées, pour les faire toucher

^f P has, *d'aultre*.

^g From P. A, B and C have merely, *lesquelz*.

^h P has, *qui*; C, *qu'ilz*.

ⁱ P has, *nostredict*; C, *nostre*.

^j P and C have, *avec*.

^k C has, *lesquelz*.

across on the way many of the people of the country, who brought us fish and other provisions, at the same time dancing and showing great joy at our coming. And in order to win and keep their friendship, the Captain made them a present of some knives, beads and other small trifles, whereat they were greatly pleased. And on reaching Hochelaga, there came to meet us more than a thousand persons, both men, women and children, who gave us as good a welcome as ever father gave to his son³², making great signs of joy; for the men danced in one ring, the women in another and the children also apart by themselves³³. After this they brought us quantities of fish, and of their bread which is made of Indian corn, throwing so much of it into our long-boats that it seemed to rain bread³⁴. Seeing this the Captain, accompanied by several of his men, went on shore; and no sooner had he landed

³² Florio has added, "whiche he had not of long tyme seene."

³³ F. W. Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians*, I (Washington, 1907), 382: "These women . . . form a circle round the song altar (the mat for the singer). Then outside of this circle the men form another circle at a suitable distance from that of the women," etc. On the Iroquois dances, *cf.* L. H. Morgan, *League of the Ho-dé-no-sau-nee or Iroquois* (New York, 1904).

audict cappitaine, et es aultres qui estoient en sa compaignye, en faisant vne feste, qui dura plus de demye heure. Et voyant ledict¹ cappitaine leur largesse et bon voulloir^m, fict asseoir et ranger toutes les femmes, et leur donna certainesⁿ patenostres d'estaing, et aultres menues besongnes^o, et à partie des hommes des cousteaulx. Puis se retira à bort desdictes barques pour soupper et passer la nuict; durant laquelle demoura icelluy peuple sus le bort dudict fleuve, au plus près desdictes barques, faisant toute nuict plusieurs feuz et dansses, en disant à toutes heures, *aguyase*^p, qui est leur dire de salut et joye³⁵. |

¹ P and C have, *nostre*.

^m P has, *recueil*; C, *racqueul*.

ⁿ P has, *des petites*.

^o P has, *choses*.

^p P has, *Aguyaze* and Lescarbot, (*op. cit.*, 1609, p. 352), *Aguiaze*; C has, *agguyase*.

than they all crowded about him and about the others, giving them a wonderful reception. And the women brought their babies in their arms to have the Captain and his companions touch them, while all held a merry-making which lasted more than half an hour. Seeing their generosity and friendliness, the Captain had the women all sit down in a row and gave them some tin beads and other trifles; and to some of the men he gave knives. Then he returned on board the long-boats to sup and pass the night, throughout which the Indians remained on the bank of the river, as near the long-boats as they could get, keeping many fires burning all night, and dancing and calling out every moment *aguyase* which is their term of salutation and joy³⁵.

³⁴ Morgan, *op. cit.* I, 318: "One of the most attractive features of Indian society was the spirit of hospitality by which it was pervaded. Perhaps no people ever carried this principle to the same degree of universality as did the Iroquois."

³⁵ This word is given in the Indian vocabulary (p. 245) as meaning "my friend" but it seems more likely to be the same word as the *aquayesse* meaning "to laugh" given by Van Curler in his list. *Vid. op. cit.*, 100.

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COMMENT LE CAPPITAINE ET LES GENTILZ-HOMMES,
AVECQUES VINGT CINQ³⁶ MARINIERS^a, BIEN ARMÉS
ET EN BONNE ORDRE, ALLÈRENT À^r LA VILLE DE
HOCHELAGA; ET DE LA SCITUACION DUDICT LIEU.

Le landemain³⁷, au plus matin, le cappitaine se acoustra³⁸,
et fict mettre ses gens en ordre, pour aller veoyr la ville et demou-
rance dudict peuple, et vne montaigne, qui est jacente à ladicte^s
ville, où allèrent avecques ledict cappitaine les gentilz-hommes et

^a P and C have, *hommes*.

^r P has, *en*.

^s C has, *leurdicte*.

HOW THE CAPTAIN AND THE GENTLEMEN, AC-
COMPANIED BY TWENTY-FIVE WELL-ARMED AND
MARSHALLED SAILORS, WENT TO VISIT THE
VILLAGE OF HOCHELAGA; AND OF THE SITUATION
OF THE PLACE.

At daybreak the next day³⁷, the Captain, having put on
his armour³⁸, had his men marshalled for the purpose of paying
a visit to the village and home of these people, and to a mountain
which lies near the town. The Captain was accompanied by the
gentlemen and by twenty sailors, the remainder having been
left behind to guard the long-boats. And he took three Indians
of the village as guides to conduct them thither. When we had
got under way, we discovered that the path was as well-trodden
as it is possible to see, and that the country was the finest and
most excellent one could find anywhere, being everywhere full
of oaks, as beautiful as in any forest in France, underneath
which the ground lay covered with acorns³⁹. And after marching
about a league and a half⁴⁰, we met on the trail one of the head-

³⁶ The text below gives only "twenty sailors." Ramusio got over the difficulty by putting *cinque gentili lhuomini con venti huomini armati*, wherein he was followed by Florio and Hakluyt.

³⁷ Sunday, October 3.

³⁸ Florio has, "having very gorgeously attired himselfe."

³⁹ Cf. Sir William Dawson's paper, "Additional Notes on Aboriginal Antiquities found at Montreal," in *The Canadian Naturalist and Geologist*, vol. VI (Montreal, 1861), p. 373: "In one spot was found a large quantity of charred acorns, which may have been used as food in times of scarcity."

vingt mariniers, et laissa le parsus pour la garde des barques; et print troys hommes de ladicte ville de Hochelaga, pour les mener et conduyre audict lieu. Et nous estans en chemin, le trouvasmes aussi battu qu'il soit possible de veoyr, et la plus belle terre^t, et meilleure [qu'on sçauroit veoir, toute] plaine de chaisnes, aussi | beaulx qu'il y ait en forestz de France, soubz lesquelz estoit toute²³ la terre couverte de glan³⁹. Et nous aians [marché^u] envyron lieue et demye⁴⁰, trouvasmes sus le chemin l'vn des principaulx seigneurs de ladicte ville de Hochelaga, avecq^v plusieurs per-

^t C has, *des plus belles terres du monde*.

^u From P and C. This word is omitted in A and B.

^v P has, *accompagné de*.

men of the village of Hochelaga, accompanied by several Indians, who made signs to us that we should rest at that spot near a fire they had lighted on the path; which we did. Thereupon⁴¹ this headman began to make a speech and to harangue us, which, as before mentioned, is their way of showing joy and friendliness, welcoming in this way the Captain and his company⁴². The Captain presented him with a couple of hatchets and a couple of knives, as well as with a cross and a crucifix, which he made him kiss and then hung it about his neck. For these the headman thanked the Captain. When this was done we marched on, and about half a league⁴³ thence, found that the land began to be cultivated. It was fine land with large fields covered with the corn of the country⁴⁴, which resembles Brazil millet, and is about as large or larger than a pea. They live on this as we do

⁴⁰ Ramusio has, *intorno quattro miglia & mezzo*, while Florio has "four or five leagues." Hakluyt changed the leagues into "miles."

⁴¹ Ramusio has, *Essendo noi quivi fermati*, whence Florio's, "After that we had rested oure selves there a while," etc.

⁴² Ramusio has, *dimostrando col viso allegro un buon animo verso detto Capitano*, whence Florio's "shewing our Capitayne and all his company a ioyfull countenance, and good will."

⁴³ Ramusio has, *intorno un miglio è mezzo dà li*, while Florio gives, "about a league and a halfe farther." Hakluyt altered this to "about a mile and a half."

⁴⁴ Cf. Morgan, *op. cit.*, I, 306: "Around the village was the village field, consisting, oftentimes, of several hundred acres of cultivated land, which was subdivided into planting lots, those belonging to different families being bounded by uncultivated ridges."

sonnes, le quel nous fict signe qu'il se falloit reposer audict lieu, près vng feu qu'ilz avoient faict audict chemin; [ce que feismes]. Et lors⁴¹ commança ledict seigneur à faire vng sermon et preschement, comme cy davant est dict, estre leur coustume de faire joie et congnoissance, en faisant celluy seigneur chère audict cappitaine et sa compaignie⁴². Lequel cappitaine luy donna vne couple de haches et vne couple de cousteaulx, avec vne croix et ^w remembrance de cruxifix qu'i[l] luy fit baiser et la luy pendit au col; de quoy rendit graces audict cappitaine. Ce faict, marchames plus oultre, et envyron demye lieu⁴³ de là, commançames à trouver les terres labourées et belles, grandes champaignes, plaines^{23v} de bledz de leur terre⁴⁴, qui^x est | comme mil de Brezil, aussi groz, ou plus, que poix, duquel^y vivent, ainsi que nous faisons de froment⁴⁵. Et au parmy d'icelles champaignes, est scitué[e]^z

^w A has, *de*.

^x C has, *lequel*.

^y P has, *dequoy*.

^z From A and P.

on wheat⁴⁵. And in the middle of these fields is situated and stands the village of Hochelaga⁴⁶, near and adjacent to a mountain, the slopes of which are fertile and are cultivated, and from the top of which one can see for a long distance. We named this

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, II, 28: "Corn is and always has been their [the Senecas'] staple article of food. When ready to be harvested, they pick the ears, strip down the husks, and braid them together in bunches, with about twenty ears in each. They are then hung up ready for use. The white flint ripens first, and is the favorite corn for hommony; the red next, and is used principally for charring and drying; the white last, and is the corn most esteemed by the Indians. It is used for bread, and supplies the same place with them that wheat does with us."

⁴⁶ In 1860 a quantity of Indian remains were dug up in "the space which extends from Mansfield Street to a little west of Metcalfe Street in one direction, and in the other from a little south of Burnside Place to within sixty yards of Sherbrooke Street. In this limited area, not exceeding two imperial acres, twenty skeletons have been disinterred within twelve months, and the workmen state that many parts of the ground excavated in former years was even more rich in such remains. Hundreds of old fire places, and indications of at least ten or twelve huts or lodges have also been found . . . All these indications point to a long residence of the aborigines on this spot, while the almost entire absence of articles of European manufacture . . . implies a date coeval with the discovery of the country. The few objects of this kind found, in circumstances which prevented the supposition of mere superficial intermixture, are just sufficient to shew that the village existed until the appearance of Europeans on the stage." *The Canadian Naturalist*, VI, 363, Montreal, 1861. Cf. also Hiram B. Stephens, *Jacques Cartier and his Four Voyages to Canada*, Montreal, s.a. [1890],

et assise ladicte ville de Hochelaga⁴⁶, près et joignant vne montaigne, qui est, à l'entour d'icelle, labourée et fort fertile, de dessus laquelle on voyt fort loing. Nous nommasmes icelle^a montaigne le *mont Royal*⁴⁷. Ladicte ville est toute ronde, et cloze de boys, à troys rancqs, en façon d'un[e] piramyde, croizée par le hault, ayant la rangée du parmy en façon de ligne perpendiculaire; puy rangée de boys couchez de^b long⁴⁸, bien joings et couzus à leur modde; et est de la haulteur d'environ deux lances⁴⁹.

^a P has, *ladicte*.

^b C has, *du*.

mountain "Mount Royal⁴⁷". The village is circular and is completely enclosed by a wooden palisade in three tiers like a pyramid. The top one is built crosswise, the middle one perpendicular and the lowest one of strips of wood placed lengthwise⁴⁸. The whole is well joined and lashed after their manner, and is some two lances in height⁴⁹. There is only one gate and entrance

160: "The writer in 1868 and 1869 found pieces of Indian pottery . . . in the plot of land opposite the Prince of Wales terrace which plot was at that time a vacant field"; and also p. 140: "The writer has dug up Indian relics on Peel Street, Montreal." *Vid.* also the *Transactions of the Royal Society*, 2nd ser., V, ii, 206-207, 1899. For the late Sir Daniel Wilson's estimate of the Indian civilization revealed by these relics, *vid.* Appendix V. pp. 306-312.

⁴⁷ This name, which has remained, is given on the Le Vasseur map (Harrisse, *op. cit.*, 194). Belleforest (*op. cit.*, II, 2191) by a strange coincidence transfers the name to the town: "laquelle ville les Chrestiens appellerent Montreal." *Cf.* also Lescarbot, *op. cit.*, 1609, p. 427 and Champlain, *Œuvres*, III, 242-244.

⁴⁸ This palisade was of Huron construction. *Cf.* Champlain, *Œuvres*, IV, 73: "Il y a dix-huit Villages, dont six sont cloz & fermez de pallissades de bois à triple rang, entre-lassez les uns dans les autres"; and also Sagard, *op. cit.*, 115: "& les autres [villes] sont fortifiez de fortes pallissades de bois à triples rangs, entre-lassez les uns dans les autres, & redoublez par dedans de grandes & grosses escorces, à la hauteur de huit à neuf pieds, & par dessous il y a de grands arbres posez de leur long, sur des fortes & courtes fourchettes des troncs des arbres"; and *ibid.*, pp. 116-117. *Vid.* plate IX, p. 144, from Ramusio, *op. cit.*, III, 446-447. The Iroquois palisade, though it also had galleries was of slightly different construction, and according to Champlain was stronger than the palisade of the Huron villages. *Vid.* Champlain, *op. cit.*, IV, 42-43 and especially the sketch at p. 44; and also Morgan, *op. cit.*, I, 305-306.

⁴⁹ Florio has "in heigth aboute two roddes," which would make it thirty-three feet high. This is slightly less than the length of two average sixteenth-century lances which were from twenty to twenty-three feet long. *Cf.* also Champlain, *op. cit.*, IV, 28: "ie me fis conduire à Carhageocha, fermé de triple

Et n'y a en icelle ville qu'une porte et entrée, qui ferme à barres⁵⁰, sur laquelle, et en plusieurs endroitz de ladicte closture, y a manières de galleries, et eschelles à y monster, lesquelles^c sont garnies de
 24^r rochyers^d et cailloux, pour la garde et deffence | d'icelle⁵¹. Il y a dedans icelle ville envyron cinquante maisons, longues de envyron cinquante pas ou plus, chascune, et douze ou quinze pas de laize^e, toutes faictes de boys, couvertes et garnies de grandes escorces et pellures desdictz boys, aussi larges que tables, bien

^c P and C have, *qui*.

^d P has, *roches*.

^e P has, *large* and has also inserted, *et* after it.

to this village, and that can be barred up⁵⁰. Over this gate and in many places about the enclosure are species of galleries with ladders for mounting to them, which galleries are provided with rocks and stones for the defence and protection of the place⁵¹. There are some fifty houses in this village, each about fifty or more paces in length, and twelve or fifteen in width, built completely of wood and covered in and bordered up with large pieces of the bark and rind of trees, as broad as a table, which are well and cunningly lashed after their manner. And inside these houses are many rooms and chambers; and in the middle is a large space without a floor, where they light their fire and live together in common. Afterwards the men retire to the above-mentioned quarters with their wives and children⁵². And furthermore there

pallissade de bois, de la hauteur de trente cinq pieds"; in speaking of which Sagard (*op. cit.*, 116) employs the very expression used by Cartier, i.e. "hautes de deux lances ou environ." The palisade around the Iroquois village attacked by Champlain was thirty feet high. *Vid.* Champlain, *op. cit.*, IV, 42.

⁵⁰ Ramusio has, *laqual si serra con pali & sbarre*, whence Florio's "which is shut with piles, stakes and barres." Cf. also Sagard, *op. cit.*, 116: "& les portes & entrees qui ferment à barres, par lesquelles on est contrainct de passer de coste, & non de plein saut."

⁵¹ Another Huron method. Cf. Champlain, *Œuvres*, IV, 73: "au dessus ils ont des galleries, qu'ils garnissent de pierres, & d'eau, pour ruër & estaindre le feu que leurs ennemis pourroient appliquer contre leurs pallissades"; and Sagard, *op. cit.*, 115-116: "puis au dessus de ces pallissades il y a des galleries ou guerittes . . . qu'ils garnissent de pierres en temps de guerre, pour ruer sur l'ennemy . . . : nos Hurons y montent par une eschelle assez mal façonee & difficile."

⁵² Cf. L. H. Morgan, *Houses and House-Life of the American Aborigenes* (Washington, 1881), p. 64; "The Iroquois constructed houses consisting of frames of poles covered with bark thirty, fifty, eighty and a hundred feet in

cousues artificiellement, selon leur modde. Et par dedans icelles y a plusieurs aistres et chambres; et au meilleu d'icelles maisons, y a vne grande salle^f par terre, où [ilz]* font leur feu, et vivent en communaulté; puis se retirent en leursdictes chambres, les hommes avecq leurs femmes et enffans⁵². Et pareillement, [ilz] ont greniers au hault de leurs maisons, où [ilz] mectent leur bled, duquel^g ilz font leur pain, qu'ilz appellent *carraconny*⁵³; et le font en la manière^h cy après. Ilz ont des pilles de boys, comme à piller

Carracony.

^f P has, *place*.^g P has, *dequoy*.^h P and C have, *sorte*.

are lofts in the upper part of their houses, where they store the corn of which they make their bread. This they call *carraconny*⁵³, and they make it in the following manner. They have wooden mortars, like those used [in France] for braying hemp, and in these with wooden pestles they pound the corn into flour. This they knead into dough, of which they make small loaves, which they set on a broad hot stone and then cover them with hot pebbles. In this way they bake their bread for want of an oven⁵⁴.

length, with a passage-way through the center, a door at each end, and with the interior partitioned off at intervals of about seven feet"; and his *League of the Iroquois*, I, 309-310: "In the centre of the roof was an opening for the smoke, the fire being upon the ground in the centre of the house . . . Within, upon the two sides, were arranged wide seats, also of bark boards, about two feet from the ground, well supported underneath, and reaching the entire length of the house. Upon these they spread their mats of skins, and also their blankets, using them as seats by day and couches at night. Similar berths were constructed on each side, about five feet above these, and secured to the frame of the house, thus furnishing accomodation for the family;" and the drawings at p. 3 of that work. *Vid.* also Champlain, *Œuvres*, IV, 74 and *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, VIII, 106: *Cf.* also Belleforest, *op. cit.*, II, cols. 2191-2192: Pope, *op. cit.*, 80; and plate IX, p. 144 *supra*.

⁵³ *Cf.* p. 81 *supra*; Lescarbot, *op. cit.*, 1609, p. 698; and *The Jesuit Relations*, V, 212 where the word given for biscuit is, *Cascaracona*. *Cf.* Morgan, *League of the Iroquois*, I, 310: "Upon cross-poles, near the roof, was hung, in bunches, braided together by the husks, their winter supply of corn."

⁵⁴ *Cf.* Morgan, *op. cit.*, II, 28-30: "The white corn is used for bread. They shell the corn by hand, and pound it into flour in wooden mortars . . . Having been passed through a sieve basket to remove the chit and coarser grains, it is made into loaves or cakes about an inch in thickness, and six inches in diameter which are cooked by boiling them in water." A sketch of a corn mortar and pestle are given at p. 29 of Morgan's work. *Cf.* also *ibid.*, p. 160 note 8; and F. W. Waugh, *Iroquois Foods and Food Preparations* (Geological Survey, Memoir 86, Ottawa, 1916), 79 *et seq.* and plates XV-XIX of that work.

chanvre, et battent, avecques pillons de boys, ledict bled en poul-
 dre; puis l'amassentⁱ en paste, et en font des torteaulx, qu'i[lz]^j
 24^v mectent sus vne | pierre [large, qui est] chaulde; puis le[s]* cue-
 vrent de cailloux chauldz, et ainsi cuisent leur pain, en lieu de four⁵⁴.
 Ilz font pareillement force potaiges dudict bled, et de febves⁵⁵
 et poix, desquelz ilz ont assez, et aussi de grosses comcombres et
 aultres fruitz⁵⁶. Ilz ont aussi de grandz vaisseaulx, comme
 thonnes, en leurs maisons, où ilz mectent leur poisson, savoir:
 anguilles et aultres⁵⁷, qu'i[lz]^k seichent à la fumée⁵⁸ durant l'esté,
 et en vivent l'yver; et de ce^l font vng grand amatz, comme avons

ⁱ P has, *le massent*.

^j C has, *lesquelz ilz*.

^k C has, *leur poisson, lequel ilz*, etc.

^l C has, *dudict poisson*.

They make also many kinds of soup with this corn, as well as with
 beans⁵⁵ and with pease, of which they have a considerable supply,
 and again with large cucumbers and other fruits⁵⁶. They have
 in their houses also large vessels like puncheons, in which they
 place their fish, such as eels and others⁵⁷, that are smoked⁵⁸
 during the summer, and on these they live during the winter.
 They make great store of these as we ourselves saw. All their
 food is eaten without salt. They sleep on the bark of trees,
 spread out upon the ground, with old furs of wild animals over
 them; and of these, to wit, otters, beavers, martens, foxes, wild-
 cats, deer, stags and others, they make their clothing and blankets,
 but the greater portion of them go almost stark naked. The most
 precious article they possess in this world is *esnoguy*, which is as

⁵⁵ Cf. *The Canadian Naturalist*, VI, 373: "In the same place I found a single bean, apparently the *Phaseolus vulgaris*, bearing witness to the cultivation of this plant," at Hochelaga; *ibid.*, V, 449 note; Morgan, *op. cit.*, II, 34; and p. 183 *infra* notes 30 and 31.

⁵⁶ Ramusio has, *cosi melloni assai & cocomeri grandi & di molti altri fruti*, whence Florio's, "other fruites, as Muske Millions very great Cowcombers." Melons were doubtless added by Ramusio on account of the mention of them at p. 121 *supra*.

⁵⁷ When the Hurons moved to Georgian bay, they used these casks for corn. Cf. also p. 167 *infra* note 77; Sagard, *op. cit.*, 135; and Morgan, *op. cit.*, I, 310: "Charred and dried corn, and beans were generally stored in bark barrels, and laid away in corners."

⁵⁸ Ramusio has, *ilquale l'estate fanno seccar al sole*, whence Florio's "causing the same in sommer to be dried in the Sunne."

veu par expérience. Tout leur vivre est sans aucun goust de sel. Et^m couchent sus escorces de boys, estandues sus la terre, avecq meschantes couvertures de peaulx [de bestes sauvaiges], de quoy font leur vestemens [et couverture], sçavoyr: [de]* louères, bièvres, martres, regnardz, chatz sauvaiges, dyns, serfz, et aultres sauvagines; mays la plus-grand partie d'eulx sontⁿ quasi tous nudz. La plus precieuse chose qu'ilz ayent en ce monde est *esnoguy*^o, lequel | est blanc comme neif⁵⁹, et le prennent audict fleuve en 25^r cornibotz⁶⁰, en la manière qui ensuyt. Quant vng homme a des-

^m C has, *Ilz*.

ⁿ C. has, *l'une partye sont*.

^o P has, *Esurgny* while Lescarbot put, *Esurni* which the Quebec editor copied. Ternaux-Compans has read, *esvogny*. A has here, *enogny*. The third Relation (p. 252) also gives, *esnoguy*. Van Curler (*op. cit.*, 99) gives, *eytroghe* for bead.

white as snow⁵⁹. They procure it from shells⁶⁰ in the river in the following manner. When an Indian has incurred the death-penalty or they have taken some prisoners in war, they kill one and make great incisions in his buttocks and thighs, and about his

⁵⁹ Palsgrave, *op. cit.*, 163: "*noyf*, the snowe, as it cleaveth upon the branches of trees in winter."

⁶⁰ *The Canadian Naturalist*, VI, 369: "Only a single specimen of the shell wampum . . . has been found. It is . . . of small size, neatly formed, and the material is apparently the pearly shell of a *Unio*, probably *U. ventricosus* (or *U. Canadensis* of Lea) . . . If this single specimen really represents the beads to which Cartier alludes, it accords with his statement that the material was obtained in the river." See J. W. Dawson, *Fossil Men*, 141, Montreal, 1880. Mr. W. J. Wintemberg tells me that the shells usually found are *Pleurocera subulare* and *Goniobasis livascens*. See also his *Use of Shells by the Ontario Indians* in the *Annual Archeological Report*, 1906, 62-64, Toronto, 1907. The word *cornibotz* which puzzled Ramusio, Hakluyt, Lescarbot and Faribault, seems to be derived from *cornet à bouquin*, the vulgar name for the *Argonauta* or cuttle-fish. *Vid. The Canadian Naturalist*, V, 441-442 note; and cf. Hon. Cadwallader Colden, *The History of the Five Indian Nations of Canada*, 2nd edit. (London, 1750), p. 3 note: "Wampum is the Current Money among the Indians: It is of two Sorts, White and Purple; the White is worked out of the Inside of the great Conques into the form of a Bead, and perforated to string on Leather; the Purple is worked out of the Inside of the Muscle Shell . . . Every Bead is of a known value, "etc.; *Morgan, op. cit.*, II, 51 *et seq.*; Lescarbot, *op. cit.*, 1609, 739-40; W. M. Beauchamp, *Wampum and Shell Articles used by the New York Indians* in *Bulletin of the New York State Musuem* 41, 359-361, Albany, 1901; and F. W. Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians*, II, 904-909.

servy mort, ou qu'ilz ont prins aulcuns ennemys à la guerre, ilz le tuent, puis l'incizent par le[s]^p fesses et cuisses, et par les jambes, braz et espaulles, à grandes taillades. Puys, es lieux^q où est ledict esnoguy, avallent ledict corps au fondz de l'eaue, et le laissent dix ou douze heures; puy le retirent à mont, et treuvent dedans lesdictes taillades et incizures, lesdictz cornibotz, desquelz ilz font [manières^r de] patenostres; et de ce usent, comme nous faisons d'or et d'argent⁶¹; et le tiennent la plus précieuse

^p From A, P and C.

^q P has, *au lieu*.

^r P has, *manietes de* but C gives, *manières de*.

legs, arms and shoulders. Then at the spot where this *esnoguy* is found, they sink the body to the bottom and leave it there for ten or twelve hours. It is then brought to the surface; and in the above-mentioned cuts and incisions they find these shells, of which they make a sort of bead, which has the same use among them as gold and silver with us⁶¹; for they consider it the most valuable article in the world. It has the virtue of stopping nose-bleeding; for we tried it. This whole tribe gives itself to manual labour and to fishing merely to obtain the necessities of life; for they place no value upon the goods of this world, both because they are unacquainted with them⁶², and because they do not move

⁶¹ Florio has: "Of them they make beades, and weare them aboute their neckes, even as we do them of golde "; while Hakluyt has added, "even as we doe chaines of gold and silver." Cf. however Morgan, *op. cit.*, II, 52-53: "Wampum beads are rarely worn, as they are scarce and held at high rates. These beads are used chiefly for religious purposes, and to preserve laws and treaties . . . Wampum belts are made by covering one side of a deer-skin belt with these beads, arranged after various devices, and with most laborious skill. As a belt four or five feet long by four inches wide would require several thousands of these beads, they were estimated at a great price "; and *ibid.* 120-121.

⁶² Cf. Champlain, *Œuvres*, IV, 75: "Leur vie est miserable au regard de la nostre, mais heureuse entr'eux qui n'en ont pas gousté de meilleure, croyant qu'il ne s'en trouve pas de plus excellente "; and also *ibid.*, 78: "Neantmoins avec toutes leurs miseres ie les estime heureux entr'eux, d'autant qu'ils n'ont autre ambition que de vivre, & de se conserver."

chose du monde. Il a la vertu d'estancher le sang des nazilles; car nous l'avons expérimenté. Tout cedict peuple ne s'adonne que à labouraige et pescherie, pour vivre; car des biens de ce^s monde ne^t font compte, pource qu'ilz n'en ont congnoissance⁶², et [aussi]* qu'ilz ne bougent de leur | pays, et ne sont embulataires, 25^v comme ceulx de Canada et du Saguenay; non obstant que lesdictz Canadians leurs soient subjectz, avec viii ou ix aultres peuples qui sont sur ledict fleuve⁶³.

^s From A, P and C. B has, *se*.

^t P has, *n'en*.

from home and are not nomads like those of Canada and of the Saguenay, notwithstanding that the Canadians and some eight or nine other tribes along this river are subjects of theirs⁶³.

⁶³ Cf. P. D. Clarke, *op. cit.*, 2: "The Algonquins, Hurons or Wyandotts, and some of the Five Nations or Iroquois, as they are called by some historians, first met with the French, on the St. Lawrence, in 1535. At that time, and back to an unknown period, the Iroquois and Wyandotts had always dwelt in the same region, where the abode and hunting grounds of each were conterminous"; and also N. Perrot, *Memoire sur les mœurs, coustumes et religion des sauvages de l'Amérique septentrionale*, publié par le R. P. J. Tailhan (Paris, 1864), p. 9: "Le pays des Irroquois estoit autrefois le Montreal et les Trois Rivières; ils avoient pour voysins les Algonkins qui demeuroient le long de la riviere des Outaoüas, au Nepissing, dans la riviere des François et entre icelle et Taronto. Les Irroquois n'estoient pas chasseurs: ils labouroient la terre et vivoient des racines qu'elle produisoit, et du grain qu'ils semoient. Les Algonkins au contraire ne subsistoient que de leur chasse," etc. *Vid.* also Morgan, *op. cit.*, I, 8-9, and A. C. Parker, *The Origin of the Iroquois*, etc. in the *American Anthropologist*, new series, 18, pp. 479-507, Lancaster, 1916, and also p. 576: and Faillon, *op. cit.*, I, note XVIII, 524-533.

COMMENT NOUS ARRIVASMES À LADICTE VILLE, ET DE LA RECEPTION QUI NOUS Y FUT FAICTE; ET COMMENT LE CAPPITAINE LEUR FICT DES PRÉSENS; ET AULTRES CHOSES QUE LEDICT CAPPITAINE LEUR FIST, COMME SERA VEU EN CE CHAPPITRE.

Ainsi comme^u fumes arrivez auprès d'icelle ville, se randirent audavant de nous grand nombre des habitans d'icelle, lesquelz^v,
 26^r à leur façon de faire, nous firent bon racqueil. | Et par noz guides et conducteurs fumes menez au meilleu d'icelle ville, où il y a vne place entre les maisons, spacieuse d'un gect de pierre, en carré ou envyron⁶⁴, lesquelz nous firent signe que nous arrastacions^w audict lieu, ce que fymes. Et tout soubdain, s'assemblèrent toutes les femmes et filles de ladicte ville, dont l'une partie estoient chargées d'enffans entre leurs braz, qui^x nous vindrent [frotter^y]

^u P has, *apres que*.

^v P and C have, *qui*.

^w A has, *arrestissions*.

^x P has, *et qui*; C, *lesquelles*.

^y This word was omitted in B. P and C have, *frotter*, while in A some late hand has added, *baiser*, and in B, *frotter*. Lescarbot followed A, and the Quebec editor copied him.

HOW WE ARRIVED AT THE VILLAGE AND THE RECEPTION WE MET WITH; AND HOW THE CAPTAIN GAVE THEM PRESENTS AND OTHER THINGS THE CAPTAIN DID, AS WILL BE SEEN IN THIS CHAPTER.

As we drew near to their village, great numbers of the inhabitants came out to meet us and gave us a hearty welcome, according to the custom of the country. And we were led by our guides and those who were conducting us into the middle of the village, where there was an open square between the houses, about a stone's throw or thereabouts in width each way⁶⁴. They signed to us that we should come to a halt here, which we did. And at once all the girls and women of the village, some of whom had children in their arms, crowded about us, rubbing our faces, arms and other parts of the upper portions of our bodies which they

⁶⁴ *Vid.* the plan in Ramusio, *op. cit.*, III. 446-447, reproduced as plate IX, p. 144, and that of an Iroquois town in Champlain, *Œuvres*, IV, 44. Cf. also *The Canadian Naturalist*, V., 445 and *Transactions of the Royal Society*, 2nd ser., V, ii, 203. 1899.

le visai, braz et aultres endroiz de dessus le corps, où ilz pouvoient toucher, pleurant de joie de nous veoyr, nous faisant la meilleur[e] chère qu'il leur estoit possible, en nous faisant signes qu'il nous pleust toucher^a leursdictz enffans. Après ces^a choses faictes, les hommes firent retirer les femmes, et se assirent sus la terre, à l'entour de nous, comme si eussions voullu jouer vng mistère⁶⁵. Et tout incontinent^b revindrent plusieurs femmes, qui apportèrent chascune vne natte carrée, en façon de tapisserie⁶⁶, et | les estandirent sus la terre, au meilleu de ladicte place, et nous 267 firent mettre sus icelles. Après lesquelles choses ainsi faictes, fut apporté, par neuf ou dix hommes⁶⁷, le Roy et seigneur du pays, qu'ilz appellent en leur langue *agouhanna*^c, lequel estoit assiz sus

^a P has, *toucher* à which C copied.

^a From A. B has, *ses*: P and C *lesquelles*.

^b P has, *tout soudain*.

^c B has *agohanna* here but elsewhere *agouhanna* which is also the reading here in P and C.

could touch, weeping for joy at the sight of us and giving us the best welcome they could. They made signs to us also to be good enough to put our hands upon their babies. After this the men made the women retire, and themselves sat down upon the ground round about us, as if we had been going to perform a miracle play⁶⁵. And at once several of the women came back, each with a four-cornered mat, woven like tapestry⁶⁶, and these they spread upon the ground in the middle of the square, and made us place ourselves upon them. When this had been done, the ruler and chief of this tribe, whom in their language they call *Agouhanna*, was carried in, seated on a large deer-skin, by nine or ten Indians⁶⁷,

⁶⁵ Ramusio has, *come se havessimo voluto recitar qualche comedia à qualche altro misterio*, which Florio has mistranslated, "as if they would have shewen and rehearsed some Comedie, or other shew." Cf. Petit de Julleville, *Les Mystères*, I, 198 Paris, 1880, and l'Abbé Anis, *Les Mystères représentés à Laval de 1493 à 1538*, Laval, s. a.

⁶⁶ Cf. Sagard, *op. cit.*, 78: "Je vis là beaucoup de femmes & filles qui faisoient des nattes de ioncs, grandement bien tissuës, & embellies de diverses couleurs"; and also p. 131: "Quand l'hyver vient elles font des nattes de joncs, & d'autres pour s'asseoir dessus."

⁶⁷ Florio gives "upon nine or ten mens shoulders," although Ramusio merely has, *portato da none à dieci huomini*. The author would seem to imply that the language spoken at Hochelaga was the same as that in use at Stadacona. *Vid.* p. 121 *supra* note 59 and p. 241 *infra*.

vne grande peau de serf; et le vindrent poser dedans ladicte place, sus lesdictes nattes, [au]près du^d cappitaine, en [nous] faisant signe que c'estoit leur [Roy et] seigneur. Celluy^e *agouhanna*^f estoit de l'aige d'environ cinquante ans, et n'estoit point mieulx acoustré que les aultres, fors qu'il avoyt, à l'entour^g de sa teste, vne manière de lizière rouge, pour sa couronne, faicte de poil d[e] herissons⁶⁸; et estoit celluy seigneur tout percludz et malade de ses membres⁶⁹. Après qu'il eut faict son signe de salut audict cappitaine et à ses gens, en leur faisant signes évidans qu'ilz fussent les [très] bien venuz, il monstra ses braz et [ses]* jambes
 27^r audict cappitaine, | luy faisant signe qu'il luy pleust les toucher^h, comme s'il luy eust demandé garison et santé. Et lors leⁱ cappi-

^d P has, *de nostre*.

^e P and C have, *cestuy*.

^f A has here *agouhanna* and the same a few lines above.

^g P has, *à lencontre*.

^h From P. A and B have, *le priant les voulloir toucher*, while C has put, *luy disant qu'il luy pleust les toucher*.

ⁱ C has, *ledict*.

who came and set him down upon the mats near the Captain, making signs to us that this was their ruler and chief. This *Agouhanna*, who was some fifty years of age, was in no way better dressed than the other Indians except that he wore about his head for a crown a sort of red band made of hedgehog's skin⁶⁸. This chief was completely paralyzed and deprived of the use of his limbs⁶⁹. When he had saluted the Captain and his men, by making signs which clearly meant that they were very welcome, he showed his arms and his legs to the Captain motioning to him to be good enough to touch them, as if he thereby expected to be cured and healed. On this the Captain set about rubbing his arms and legs with his hands. Thereupon this *Agouhanna* took the band of cloth he was wearing as a crown and presented it to the Captain.

⁶⁸ Cf. Morgan, *op. cit.*, I, 253-54 for a sketch of this porcupine headdress; and Lescarbot, *op. cit.*, 1609, 742-743: "Quant à ceux de nôtre Nouvelle France és jours entre eux solennels & de jouissance, & quand ilz vont à la guerre, ils ont à l'entour de la tête comme vne couronne faite de longs poils d'Ellan peints en rouge collez ou autrement attachez à vne benche de cuir large de trois doigts telle que le Capitaine Jacques Quartier dit avoir veu au Roy . . . & Seigneur des Sauvages qu'il trouva en la ville de Hochelaga."

⁶⁹ Ramusio has, *tutto quanto paralitico & attratto delle sue membra* whence Florio's "full of the palsey, and his members shronke together."

taine commança à luy frotter les braz et jambes, avecq les mains. Et [lors]^j print ledict *agouhanna*^k la lizière et couronne qu'il avoit sus la^l teste, et la donna audict^m cappitaine. Et tout incontinent, furent amenez audict cappitaine plusieurs malades, comme aveugles⁷⁰, bourgues⁷¹, boisteulx, impotens, et gens si très-vieulx que les paupières des yeulx leurs pendoient [jusques] sus les joues, les seoyantⁿ et couchant près ledict^o cappitaine pour les toucher, tellement qu'il sembloyt que Dieu fust là descendu, pour les gueryr.

Ledict^p cappitaine, voyant la pitié et foy de cedict peuple, dist l'euvangille saint Jehan, sçavoir: l'*Im principio*,⁷² faisant le signe de la croix sus les pouvres malades, priant Dieu qu'il leur donnast congnoissance | de nostre sainte foy, et de la passion 27^v

^j C has, *adoncq*.

^k B has here again, *agohanna* which A has copied while P and C give the spelling in the text.

^l P has, *sa*.

^m P has, *à nostre*.

ⁿ P has, *seant*.

^o P has, *au pres de nostre dict*; C, *au pres dudict*.

^p P has, *Nostre dict*.

And at once many sick persons, some blind⁷⁰, others with but one eye⁷¹, others lame or impotent and others again so extremely old that their eyelids hung down to their cheeks, were brought in and set down or laid out near the Captain, in order that he might lay his hands upon them, so that one would have thought Christ had come down to earth to heal them.

Seeing the suffering of these people and their faith, the Captain read aloud the Gospel of St. John, namely, "In the beginning"⁷², etc. making the sign of the cross over the poor sick people, praying God to give them knowledge of our holy faith and of our Saviour's passion, and grace to obtain baptism and redemption⁷³.

⁷⁰ Cf. Champlain, *Œuvres*, IV, 74: "En telle cabanne . . . il fume à bon escient, qui fait que plusieurs en reçoivent de grandes incommoditez aux yeux, à quoy ils sont subiects, iusques à en perdre la veue."

⁷¹ Though Ramusio has, *orbi*, Florio gives "criple."

⁷² Florio has, "In the beginning was the word." In the *Livre d'heures de la reine Anne de Bretagne*, 35-37 (Paris, 1841), only the first fourteen verses of the gospel are given.

⁷³ Florio has, "touching every one that were diseased, praying to God that it wold please him to open the harts of this poore people and to make them knowe his holy worde, and that they might receive baptisme and Christendome."

de Nostre Sauveur, et grace de recouvre[r]^a chrestienté et baptesme⁷³. Puis^r print ledict cappitaine vne paire d'heures,⁷⁴ et tout haultement leut, de mot à mot, la passion de Nostre Seigneur⁷⁵, si que tous les assistans la^s peurent ouyr, où tout ce pouvre peuple fist^t vne grande sillance, et furent mervailleusement bien entendibles, regardant le ciel et faisant pareilles serimonyes qu'ilz nous veoyent faire. Après laquelle, fist ledict cappitaine ranger tous les hommes d'un costé, les femmes d'un aultre, et les enfans d'aultre, et donna aux principaulx des hachotz, es aultres des cousteaulx^u, et es femmes des patenostres et aultres menues choses^v; puis gecta parmy la place, entre lesdictz [petis] enfans, des petites bagues et *agnus Dei* d'estaing⁷⁶; de quoy

^a From A and P.

^r C has, *Et puis*.

^s P has, *le*.

^t P has, *feirent*.

^u As in P and C. A and B have, *es principaulx et aultres des cousteaulx et des hachotz et es femmes*, etc.

^v P has, *besongnes*.

Then the Captain took a prayer-book⁷⁴ and read out, word for word, the Passion of our Lord⁷⁵, that all who were present could hear it, during which all these poor people maintained great silence and were wonderfully attentive, looking up to heaven and going through the same ceremonies they saw us do. After this the Captain had all the men range themselves on one side, the women on another and the children on another, and to the headmen he gave hatchets, to the others knives, and to the women, beads and other small trinkets. He then made the children scramble for little rings and tin *agnus Dei*⁷⁶, which afforded them great amusement. The Captain next ordered the trumpets and other musical instruments to be sounded, whereat the Indians were much delighted. We then took leave of them and proceeded

⁷⁴ Though Ramusio has, *l'ufficio*, Florio translated, "he toke a booke in his hande." Hakluyt has added "a Service-booke." Cf. Palsgrave, *op. cit.*, 183: "*Unes heures*, a primer or a mattyns boke"; and also *ibid.*, 152.

⁷⁵ *Vid.* *Le Livre d'heures de la reine Anne de Bretagne*, 457 et seq. It consisted of chapters XVIII and XIX of the Gospel of St. John with a prayer at the close.

⁷⁶ Florio has, "Then where ye children were, he cast rings, counters & brooches made of Tin". The name is usually applied to the small figure of a lamb with a cross or a flag.

menèrent^w vne merveilleuse joye. Ce faict, le^x cappitaine com-
 manda sonner les trompettes et aultres instrumens de musique,
 de quoy^y ledict peuple fut fort resiouy. Après lesquelles | choses, 28^r
 nous prinsmes congé d'eulx, et nous retirames. Voyant ce, les
 femmes se mirent audavant de nous pour nous arrester, et nous
 apportèrent^z de leurs vivres, lesquelz ilz^a nous avoyent apprestez,
 sçavoir^b: poisson, potaiges, febves, pain et aultres choses, pour
 nous cuyder faire repaistre et digne[r]^c audict lieu⁷⁷. Et pource
 que lesdicts^d vivres n'estoient à nostre goust, et qu'il n'y avoyt
 [aucune saveur]^e de sel⁷⁸, les remerciasmes, leur faisant signes que
 n'avions besoing de repaistre^f.

^w C has, *desquelz firent*.

^x P has, *ledict*.

^y P has, *desquelz*.

^a P has, *apportoient*.

^b P has, *qu'ilz*.

^b P and C have, *comme*.

^c From A. B and C have, *digne*; P, *disner*.

^d P has, *leurs*.

^e A, B and C have, *goust*.

^f P has, *manger*.

to set out upon our return. Seeing this the squaws placed them-
 selves in our way to prevent us, and brought us some of their
 provisions, which they had made ready for us, to wit: fish, soups,
 beans, bread and other dishes, in the hope of inducing us to partake
 of some refreshment and to eat with them⁷⁷. But as these pro-
 visions were not to our taste and had no savour of salt⁷⁸, we
 thanked them, making signs that we were in no need of refresh-
 ment.

⁷⁷ Cf. *The Canadian Naturalist*, VI, 378: "The bill of fare of old Hoche-
 laga appears to have included nearly all the wild mammals of the country, and
 many birds and fishes: but the beaver largely predominates, and remains of
 the bear, more especially lower jaws, are quite numerous. Grains of Indian
 corn . . . are very abundant, and apparently of the ordinary variety still culti-
 vated in the country. In the same place I found a single bean, apparently the
Phaseolus vulgaris . . . The stones of the wild plum are very common, and Mr.
 Murphy has found specimens of butternuts"; and Morgan, *op. cit.*, I, 319:
 "The care of the appetite was left entirely with the women . . . If a neighbor
 or a stranger entered her dwelling, a dish of hommony, or whatever else she had
 prepared, was immediately placed before her, with an invitation to partake.
 It made no difference at what hour of the day, or how numerous the calls, this
 courtesy was extended to every comer, and was the first act of attention bestow-
 ed. This custom was universal, in fact one of the laws of their social system;
 and a neglect on the part of the wife to observe it, was regarded both as a breach
 of hospitality and as a personal affront." *Vid.* also Champlain, *Œuvres*, IV,
 75-78; C. Colden, *op. cit.*, 11-12; and F. W. Waugh, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

⁷⁸ Cf. Sagard, *op. cit.*, 47: "A la verité ie trouvay leur manger maussade
 & fort à contre-cœur, comme n'estant accoustumé à ces mets sauvages."

Après que nous fumes sortis^g de ladicte ville, fumes conduictz par plusieurs hommes et femmes d'icelle^h sur la montaigne [cy] davant dicte, qui est par nous nommée *mont Royal*, distant dudict lieu d'un cart de lieue⁷⁹. Et nous estans sus ladicteⁱ montaigne, eusmes veue et congnoissance de plus de trente lieues, |
 28^v à l'environ d'icelle; dont il y a, vers le nort, vne rangée de montaignes⁸⁰, qui sont est et ouaist gisantes, et autant devers le su⁸¹. Entre lesquelles montaignes est la terre, la plus belle qu'il soit possible de veoyr, labourable, vnye et plaine⁸². Et par le meilleu desdictes terres, voyons ledict fleuve⁸³ oultre le lieu où estoient

^g P has, *yssuz*.

^h P has, *plusieurs hommes & femmes nous vindrent conduire sur*, etc.

ⁱ P has, *icelle*.

On issuing forth from the village we were conducted by several of the men and women of the place up the above-mentioned mountain, lying a quarter of a league away, which was named by us "Mount Royal"⁷⁹. On reaching the summit we had a view of the land for more than thirty leagues round about. Towards the north there is a range of mountains, running east and west⁸⁰, and another range to the south⁸¹. Between these ranges lies the finest land it is possible to see, being arable, level and flat⁸². And in the midst of this flat region one saw the river [St. Lawrence] extending beyond the spot where we had left our long-boats⁸⁴. At that point there is the most violent rapid it is pos-

⁷⁹ Hochelaga was thus about three quarters of a mile from the mountain, which is still called Mount Royal. As before mentioned (p. 128 note 76) Hochelaga in the Huron tongue means "at the beaver-dam" i.e. the Lachine rapid. *Vid.* also Champlain, *Œuvres*, III, 242. Cartier had thus made his way 986 miles from the Atlantic.

⁸⁰ The Laurentian hills.

⁸¹ The northern slopes of the Adirondacks and of the Green mountains of Vermont.

⁸² Cf. *Picturesque Canada*, I, 106: "The view from the summit . . . is well worth the climb . . . The majestic St. Lawrence may be traced for miles . . . Beyond the river is a vast stretch of land absolutely flat bounded by ranges of hills"; and also G. Heriot, *Travels through the Canadas*, 113-114, London, 1807.

⁸³ The river St. Lawrence.

⁸⁴ This was possibly under the lee of a small island called Market Garden island that then lay between the island of Montreal and St. Helen's island. It has since been incorporated with the docks. Cf. Champlain's *Works*, I, 148: "Nous vinsmes mouiller l'ancre à la bande du Nort, contre vne petite isle," etc.; and the map in *Œuvres*, III, 248.

demourées noz barques⁸⁴, où il y a vng sault d'eau, le plus impetueulx qu'il soit possible de veoir, lequel ne nous fut possible de passer⁸⁵; et voyons icelluy fleuve tant que l'on pouvoyt regarder[r]^j, grand, large et spacieulx, qui^k alloit au surouaist, et passoit par auprès de troys belles montaignes rondes, que nous voyons, et estimyons qu'elles estoient à envyron quinze lieues de nous⁸⁶. Et nous fut dict et monstre par signes, par les^l troys hommes [du pais] qui nous avoyent conduictz^m, qu'il y avoyt troys ytieulx saultz d'eau audict fleuve⁸⁷, comme celluy où estoient nosdictes barques; mayns nous ne peusmes entendre quelle distance il y avoyt entre l'un et l'autre, [par faulte de langue]. Puisⁿ, nous monstroient [par signes], que lesdictz saultz passez, l'on

Le grand sault
de la rivière
de Canada.

29^r

Navigation de
trois lunes par
la rivière de
Canada au
dessus du sault.

^j From A anl.d P.

^k C has, *leque*

^l P has, *nosdictz*.

^m C has, *qui estoient presens*.

ⁿ C has, *Et puys*.

sible to see, which we were unable to pass⁸⁵. And as far as the eye can reach, one sees that river, large, wide and broad, which came from the south-west and flowed near three fine conical mountains, which we estimated to be some fifteen leagues away⁸⁶. And it was told us and made clear by signs by our three local Indian guides, that there were three more such rapids in that river⁸⁷, like the one where lay our long-boats; but through lack of an interpreter we could not make out what the distance was from one to the other. They then explained to us by signs that after passing these rapids, one could navigate along that river

⁸⁵ The Lachine rapid. The descent is forty-two feet in two miles. Cf. Champlain's *Works*, I, 150-151: "Venans à approcher dudict sault avec nostre petit esquif & le canot, ie vous assure que iamais ie ne veis vn torrent d'eau desborder avec vne telle impetuosité comme il fait . . . Il dessend comme de degré en degré, & en chasque lieu où il y quelque peu de hauteur, il s'y fait vn esbouillonnement estrange de la force & roideur que va l'eau en traversant ledit sault, qui peut contenir vne lieue"; and Faillon, *Histoire de la colonie française en Canada*, I, note II, p. 500.

⁸⁶ St. Bruno, Belœil and Rougemont. One can see Mt. Johnson as well. Cf. Champlain's *Works*, I, 150: "L'on void du costé du Su, quelques trois ou quatre mōtaignes, qui paroissent comme à quelque quinze ou seize lieues dans les terres." Belœil or St. Hilaire mountain which lies sixteen miles east of Montreal is 1,600 feet high. Vid. Bædeker's *Canada*, 2nd edit., 30-31, Leipsic, 1900.

⁸⁷ The Cascades (including Cedar and Coteau), Long Sault and Galops rapids.

pouvoyt naviguer plus de troys lunes^o par ledict fleuve⁸⁸. Et oultre nous monstroient que le long desdictes montaignes, estant vers le nort⁸⁹, y a vne grande ripvière⁹⁰ qui descend de l'occident, comme ledict fleuve⁹¹. Nous estimons^p que c'est la ripvière qui passe par le royaume et prouvynce du Saguenay⁹²; et sans que [nous]* leur fissions aucune demande et signe^q, prindrent la chaisne du sifflet du cappitaine, qui est^r d'argent, et vng manche

^o P has, *liues*.

^p P has, *estimions*.

^q P has, *signes*.

^r P has, *estoit*; C, *laquelle est*.

for more than three moons⁸⁸. And they showed us furthermore that along the mountains to the north⁸⁹, there is a large river⁹⁰, which comes from the west like the said river [St. Lawrence]. We thought this river [Ottawa] must be the one that flows past the kingdom and province of the Saguenay⁹²; and without our asking any questions or making any sign, they seized the chain of the Captain's whistle, which was made of silver, and a dagger-handle of yellow copper-gilt like gold, that hung at

⁸⁸ Lescarbot (*op. cit.*, 1609, p. 360) has added: "C'est à dire trois mois." The distance from Montreal to the headwaters of Lake Superior by the great lakes is 1,550 miles. Lescarbot has also taken the phrase, *Nota que leur seigneur nommé Donnacona a esté à vne terre*, etc. in B fol. 66^v (p. 418) and inserted it here in the following form: "Et là-dessus me souvient que Donnacona, seigneur des Canadiens, nous a dit quelquefois avoir été à vne terre, où ilz sont vne lune à aller avec leurs barques depuis Canada iusques à ladite terre, en laquelle il y croit force canelle & girofle. Et appellent ladite canelle Adotathui, le girofle Canonotha." Although the opening words betray the different origin, the Quebec editor incorporated the whole paragraph into his text (p. 47). See Grant's *Lescarbot*, II, 121.

⁸⁹ The Laurentides.

⁹⁰ The Ottawa.

⁹¹ The St. Lawrence.

⁹² What this mysterious "kingdom of the Saguenay" was, with its "infinite quantities of gold, rubies and other gems," it is difficult to say, unless a confusion was made between copper and gold, and the region meant was the copper quarries of Lake Superior. Cf. *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, 2nd ser., V, ii, 201: "Axes have been found in the débris of Hochelaga . . . which came from Lake Superior"; Champlain, *Œuvres*, IV, 21: "Icelle riviere qui vient du Nort [i.e. the Ottawa] est celle par laquelle les Sauvages vont au Sacquenay pour traicter des Pelleteries"; and the inscription over the Ottawa on Mercator's map of 1569: "Hoc fluvio facilius est navigatio in Saguenai," given in Kohl, *op. cit.*, 384, N° XXII.

de pongnard, qui^s estoit de laton jaulne comme or, lequel pen-
doit^t au costé de l'vn de noz [compaignons] mariniers^u, et mons-
trèrent que cela venoyt d'amont ledict fleuve⁹³, et qu'il y avoyt
des *agojuda*^v, qui est à dire mauvaise[s]^w gens, qui estoient^x Agojuda.
armés jusques sus les doidz, nous monstrant la façon de leurs
armiuers, qui sont de cordes et [de] boys, lasseez et tissuez en-
semble; nous donnant à | entendre que lesdictz *agojuda* menoyent^{29v}
la guerre continuelle, les vngs es aultres^v; mays par deffault de
langue, ne peusmes avoyr congnoissance combien il y avoit
jusques audict pays. Ledict^z cappitaine leur monstra du cuyvre
rouge, qu'ilz appellent *caignetdazé*^{a 94}, leur monstrant vers ledict
lieu et demandant par signe, s'il venoyt de là. Et ils comman-
chèrent à secourré la teste, disans que non, en monstrant^b qu'il
venoyt du Saguenay, qui est au contraire du précédent⁹⁵. Après

^s P has, *lequel*; C, *qui est*.

^t From P and C. A and B have, *estoit*.

^u These two words have the same meaning. *Vid.* pp. 3 and 74.

^v P. has always, *Agouïonda*.

^w From A and P.

^x P has, *lesquelz sont*; C, *lesquelz estoient*.

^y P has, *les ungs contre les autres*.

^z P has, *Nostre*.

^a From P and C. A and B have here, *caignedazé*. *Vid.*, p. 106, note 84.

^b A has, *et monstrant*, while P gives, *et monstrerent* which C copied.

the side of one of the sailors, and gave us to understand that these came from up that river⁹³ [Ottawa], where lived *Agojuda*, which means bad people, who were armed to the teeth, showing us the style of their armour, which is made with cords and wood, laced and plaited together. They also seemed to say that these *Agojuda* waged war continually, one tribe against the other, but through not understanding their language, we could not make out what the distance was to that country. The Captain showed them some copper, which they call *caignetdazé*⁹⁴, and pointing towards the said region, asked by signs if it came thence? They shook their heads to say no, showing us that it came from the Saguenay⁹², which lies in the opposite direction⁹⁵. Having seen

⁹³ Although the text has *fleuve*, meaning the St. Lawrence, the Ottawa was evidently intended and the *Agojuda* were perhaps Algonkins. *Vid.* Faillon, *op. cit.*, I, 525.

⁹⁴ *Vid.* p. 106 *supra* note 84.

⁹⁵ Florio has, "cleane contrarye to the other."

lesquelles choses ainsi veues et entendues, nous retirasmes à noz barques, qui ne fut sans avoir conduicte de grand nombre dudict peuple, dont partie d'eulx, quant veoyoient noz gens laz, les chargeoient sus eulx, comme sus chevaux, et les portoyent⁹⁶. Et nous arrivez à nosdictes barques, fimes voile pour retourner à nostre gallion⁹⁷, pour doubte qu'il n'eust aucun encombrer. Lequel
 30^r partement ne fut sans grand regret dudict peuple; car | tant qu'ilz nous peurent suyvir aval ledict fleuve, ilz nous suyvèrent. Et tant fimes, que nous arrivasmes à nostredict gallion le lundi, quatriesme jour d'octobre.

Le mardi, cinquiesme jour dudict moys, nous fimes voile et appareillasmes avecq nostredict gallion et barques, pour retourner à la prouvince de Canada⁹⁸, au port de sainte Croix⁹⁹, où estoient demourez nosdictz navires. Et le septiesme [jour], nous vinsmes poser le travers d'une ripvière¹⁰⁰, qui vient devers le

and learned these things, we returned to our long-boats, accompanied by a large number of these Indians, some of whom, when they saw that our people were tired, took them upon their shoulders, as on horseback and carried them⁹⁶. And on our arrival at the long-boats, we at once set sail to return to the bark⁹⁷, for fear of any misadventure. Such a departure did not fail to cause the Indians great regret; for so long as they could follow us down the river, they did so. And we made such good headway that we reached our bark on Monday, October 4.

On Tuesday, the fifth of that month, we hoisted sail and set forth with our bark and the long-boats to return to the province of Canada⁹⁸ and to Ste. Croix harbour⁹⁹, where our ships had been left. And on [Thursday] the seventh we came to anchor opposite a stream¹⁰⁰ which enters the river [St. Lawrence] from the north

⁹⁶ A representation of this is given in Ramusio's drawing of Hochelaga (*op. cit.*, III, fols. 446-447) and plate IX, p. 144 *supra*.

⁹⁷ The *Emérillon* in Lake St. Peter.

⁹⁸ *Vid.* p. 103 *supra* note 69.

⁹⁹ The river St. Charles.

¹⁰⁰ The river St. Maurice which enters the St. Lawrence at Three Rivers, twenty-five miles below the head of Lake St. Peter where the long-boats had rejoined the *Emérillon*.

nort, sortente audict fleuve, à l'entrée de laquelle [il]* y a quatre petites ysles, et plaines d'arbres.¹ Nous nommasmes icelle ripvière *la ripvière de Fouez*². Et pource que l'une d'icelles ysles s'avance audict fleuve, et la veoyt on de loing, ledict cappitaine | fict planter vne belle [grande] croix sus la poincte d'icelle³; et com- 30v
manda apprester les barques, pour aller, avec marée, dedans icelle^o ripvière, pour veoyr le parfond et nature d'icelle, [ce que^d fut faict]. Et nagèrent celluy jour amont ladicte rivière^e; may^s ^f pource qu'elle fut trouvée de nulle experiance, ny parfonde, retournerent⁵; et appareillasmes pour aller aval.

^o C has, *ladicte*.

^d P has, *ce qu'il*; C, *ce que*.

^e From P and C. A and B have, *ledict fleuve*. It was the St. Maurice.

^f P has, *et*.

and at the mouth of which lie four small islands covered with trees¹. We named this stream "Lashing river"². And as one of these islands [St. Quentin] stretches out into the river [St. Lawrence], and can be seen from a distance, the Captain had a fine large cross erected upon the point of it³. He then commanded the long-boats to be made ready to go up that river [St. Maurice] at high tide to find out the depth and nature of the same. These orders were carried out; and they rowed up the river that day; but when it was discovered to be of no importance and shallow, they came back⁵. We then made sail to continue our way down the river [St. Lawrence].

¹ There are in reality six islands, although two of them, Iles Caron and Ogden are quite small. The other four are now named St. Quentin, La Potherie, St. Christophe and St. Joseph, while their old names were Ile au Cochon, Belle-rive, St. Christophe and La Croix. I am indebted to my friend Mr. V. J. Hughes of Montreal for the modern names.

² *Fouet* means a lashing but the meaning is not clear. Lescarbot (*op. cit.*, 1609, p. 363) has added: "ie pense qu'il veut dire Foix"; and on the margin one reads: "Riviere de Foix laquelle Champlain appelle Les trois rivières." *Vid.* Champlain's *Works*, I, 135-136.

³ Ile St. Quentin. *Cf.* Champlain's *Works*, I, 136.

⁵ *Cf. ibid.*, 137.

COMMENT NOUS ARRIVASMES AUDICT HABLE DE
SAINCTE CROIX, ET L'ORDRE COMME NOUS TROU-
VASMES NOZ NAVIRES; ET COMME LE SEIGNEUR
DU PAYS VINT VEOYR LE^g CAPPITAINE, ET COMME
LEDICT CAPPITAINE L'ALLA VEOYR; ET PARTYE
DE LEUR COUSTUME EN PARTICULLYER. |

31^r Le lundi, vnziesme jour d'octobre, nous arrivasmes au^h
hable de sainte Croix⁶, où estoient noz navires; et trouvasmes
que les maistres et mariniers, qui estoient demourez, avoient faict
vng fort davant lesdictzⁱ navires, tout cloz, de grosses pièces de
boys, plantées debout, joignant les vnes aux^j aultres, et tout

^g P has, *nostre*.

^h P has, *audict*.

ⁱ A has, *ledict*.

^j P has, &; C, *es*.

HOW WE ARRIVED AT STE. CROIX HARBOUR;
AND THE STATE IN WHICH WE FOUND OUR SHIPS;
AND HOW THE CHIEF OF THAT REGION CAME TO
SEE THE CAPTAIN, AND THE CAPTAIN WENT TO
SEE HIM; AND OF SOME OF THEIR CUSTOMS IN
DETAIL.

On Monday, October 11, we arrived at the harbour of Ste. Croix⁶ where our ships were lying, and found that the mates and sailors who had stayed behind, had built a fort in front of the ships, enclosed on all sides with large wooden logs, planted upright and joined one to the other, with artillery pointing every way, and in a good state to defend us against the whole country-side⁷.

■ The river St. Charles.

⁷ *Vid.* the drawing on the Vallard map plate X, p. 160. This fort seems to have stood at the point where the Lairet enters the St. Charles. Cf. Champlain, *Œuvres*, V, 14: "Il [Cartier] fut contraint d'hyverner en la riviere Sainte Croix en vn endroit où maintenant les Peres Jesuites ont leur demeure, sur le bord d'une autre petite riviere qui se descharge dans celle de Sainte Croix, appelée la riuere de Jacques Cartier"; and *ibid.*, III, 156: "Je tiens que dans ceste riviere [St. Charles] . . . ce fut le lieu où Jaques Quartier yuerna, d'autant qu'il y a encores à vne lieue dans la riviere des vestiges comme d'une cheminée, dont on a trouvé le fondement, & apparence d'y avoir eu des fossez autour de leur logement, qui estoit petit. Nous trouvasmes aussi de grandes pieces de bois escarrées, vermoulues, & quelques 3. ou 4. balles de canon";

alentour garny d'artillerie⁷, et bien en ordre pour se^k deffendre contre tout le pays.¹ Et tout incontinent que le seigneur du pays fut adverty de nostre venue, vint le landemain, XII^e jour dudict moys,⁸ acompaigné de Taignoagny, dom Agaya^m et plusieurs aultres, pour veoyr ledictⁿ cappitaine; et luy firent vne merveilleuse feste^o, faignant avoyr grand joie^p de sa^q venue. Lequel pareillement leur fict assez bon racqueul, toutesfoys qu'ilz ne l'avoyent pas desservy. Le seigneur^r Donnacona pria le^s

^k P has, *soy*.

¹ P has, *toute la puissance du pays*.

^m A has, *Agaia*.

ⁿ C has, *nostre*.

^o P has, *lesquelz firent une merveilleuse feste à nostre cappitaine*.

^p C has, *estre joyeux*.

^q P has, *nostre*.

^r C has, *Ledict Donnacona*.

^s P has, *nostre*.

As soon as the chief of that region [Donnacona] was informed of our arrival, he came on the following day, [Tuesday] the twelfth of the month⁸, accompanied by Taignoagny, Dom Agaya and several others to see the Captain [Cartier], to whom they gave a hearty welcome, feigning to be much pleased at his return. The latter likewise received them fairly well, notwithstanding that they had not deserved it. Chief Donnacona invited the Captain to visit him on the following day at Canada⁹, and the Captain promised to do so. So on the morrow [Wednesday], the thirteenth of the month [October], the Captain, accompanied by the gentlemen and with fifty sailors drawn up in order, went to visit Donnacona and his people at their home called Stadacona¹⁰, which stood about half a league from the spot where lay our ships. And on drawing near the village, the inhabitants

and Sagard, *Histoire du Canada* (Paris, 1636), p. 868: "lesquelles ils [les Jesuites] ont employées à leur bastiment commencé au delà de la petite riviere [St. Charles] sept ou 800. pas de nous en un lieu que l'on appelle communement le fort de Jacques Cartier." The whole question has been carefully elucidated by the late Dr. N. E. Dionne in *La "Petite Hermine" de Jacques Cartier, passim*, Québec, 1913. *Vid.* also Faillon, *op. cit.*, I, note I, 496-499.

⁸ Tuesday, October 12.

⁹ The word clearly seems to be used here in the sense of town. Ramusio has *à veder Canada*, whence Florio's "to come and see Canada." *Vid.* p. 103 note 69 and p. 190 *infra*.

¹⁰ *Vid.* p. 124 *supra* note 67.

31^v cappitaine de l'aller, le landemain, veoyr à Canada⁹, ce que luy promist | ledict cappitaine. Et le landemain, XIII^e [jour] dudict moys, ledict cappitaine, acompaigné des gentilz-hommes et de cinquante compaignons^t, bien en ordre, allèrent veoyr ledict Donnacona et son peuple, qui est distant du lieu où estoient noz^u navires, de demye lieue^v; et se nomme leur demourance Stadaconé¹⁰. Et nous arrivez audict lieu, vindrent les habitans audavant de nous, loing de leurs maisons d'un gect de pierre ou mieulx, et là se rangèrent et assirent à leur modde et façon de faire, les hommes d'une part et les femmes [et filles]* de l'autre, debout, chantant et danssant sans cesse. Et après qu'ilz s'entrefurent saluez et faict chère les vngs es^w aultres, le^x cappitaine donna es^y

^t P has, *avecques ses gentilz hommes accompaigne de cinquante compaignons*; C gives, *avecques les gentilzhommes*, etc. as in P.

^u P has, *lesdictes*.

^v P has, *d'une lieue*.

^w P has *aux*.

^x P has, *ledict*.

^y P and C have, *aux* and *aulx*.

came out to meet us a stone's throw or more from their wigwams, where they ranged and seated themselves after their manner and custom, the men on one side and the women and girls on the other, standing up and singing and dancing unceasingly. And when all had mutually saluted and welcomed each other, the Captain presented the men with knives and other wares of small value, and had all the women and girls pass before him, to whom he gave each a tin ring, for which they thanked him. He was then conducted by Donnacona and Taignoagny to see their wigwams¹¹,

¹¹ Cf. Thevet, *Singularitez*, reprint of 1878, 407-8: "Ils habitent par villages et hameaux en certaines maisons, faites à la façon d'un demy cercle, en grandeur de vingt à trente pas, & de dix de largeur, couverte d'ecorces d'arbres"; and also Champlain's *Works*, I, 105: "Leurs cabannes sont basses, faictes comme des têtes, couvertes de ladite escorce d'arbre, & laissent tout le haut descouvert comme d'un pied, d'où le iour leur vient, & font plusieurs feux droit au milieu de leur cabanne, où ils sont quelques-fois dix mesnages ensëble. Ils couchent sur des peaux, les vns parmy les autres, les chiens avec eux." *Vid.* also p. 156 *supra* note 52, and Lescarbot, *op. cit.*, 1609, 787.

¹² Ramusio has, *lequali secondo la lor qualita*, whence Florio's "the qualitie considered," etc.

¹³ Ramusio has, *della sorte del paese*, whence Florio's "suche victualles as the Countrey yeeldeth."

¶ A SHORTE AND
brieft narration of the two
Nauigations and Discoueries
to the Northweaft partes called
NEWE FRAVNCE:

First tranſlated out of French into Italian, by that famous
learned man *Gio: Bapt: Ramutius*, and now turned
into Engliſh by *Iohn Florio*: Worthy the rea-
ding of all Venturers, Trauellers,
and Diſcouerers.



IMPRINTED AT LON-
don, by H. Bynneman, dyvelling
in Thames ſtreate, neere vnto
Baynardes Caſtell.

Anno Domini. 1580.

Title-Page of Florio's Translation.

hommes des cousteaulx et aultres choses de peu de valleur, et fict passer toutes les femmes et filles pardevant luy, | et leur ^{32r} donna à chascune vne bague d'estaing; de quoy remercièrent ledict cappitaine, qui^z fut par ledict Donnacona et Taignoagny mené veoir leur[s]^a maisons¹¹; lesquelles¹² estoient bien estorées de vivres, selon leur sorte¹³, pour passer leur yver. Et fut par ledict Donnacona monstre audict cappitaine^b les peaulx de cinq testes d'hommes, estandues sus des boys, comme peaulx de parchemin¹⁴; et [lequel Donnacona] nous dist que c'estoient des Toudamans^c, de devers le su, qui leur menoyent continuellement la guerre¹⁵. Oultre^d nous fut dict, qu'il y a eu deux ans passez que lesdictz Toudamans les vindrent assaillir jusques dedans

^a P and C have, *lequel*.

^b From A and P.

^c P has, & *nous fut par ledict Donnacona monstre les peaulx*, etc.

^c P has, *Trudamans*, while Ramusio, Belleforest, Lescarbot and Faribault give, *Toudamans*. On his map however Lescarbot has put, *Tondamans* and such is also Ternaux-Compans' reading.

^d P and C have, &.

which¹² were well stored with the provisions they use in winter¹³. Donnacona showed the Captain the scalps of five Indians, stretched on hoops like parchment¹⁴, and told us they were Toudamans from the south, who waged war continually against his people¹⁵. He informed us also that two years previously these Toudamans had come and attacked them in that very river¹⁶, on an island which lies opposite to the Saguenay¹⁷, where they were spending

¹⁴ Florio has, "spred upon bourds as we doe use parchment"; but cf. Peter Jones, *op. cit.*, 132: "The scalps are stretched on round hoops and carefully dried. They are then painted, and decorated with wampum beads and ribbons;" and F. W. Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians*, etc., II, 483, and J. B. Tyrrell, *David Thompson's Narrative*, 332, Toronto, 1916.

¹⁵ Mr. W. D. Lighthall would identify these Toudamans with the Etchemins. Cf. *Trans. of the R. Society*, 2nd ser., V, ii, 207.

¹⁶ The St. Lawrence.

¹⁷ Perhaps Basque island which Alfonse (p. 293 *infra*) called *isle de la Guerre*. Cf. however Ferland, *op. cit.*, I, 35: "Une tradition, conservée parmi les familles sauvages de Gaspé et de Restigouche, porte qu'autrefois un grand nombre des leurs furent mis à mort par les bandes iroquoises, dans une caverne peu éloignée du Bic; et cette tradition est confirmée par la découverte d'une masse d'ossements humains trouvés, il y a plusieurs années, dans une grotte sur une des îles du Bic."

ledict fleuve¹⁶, à vne ysle¹⁷ qui est le travers du Saguenay, où ilz estoient à passer la nuyct, tendans aller à Honguedo¹⁸, leur mener guerre, avecques envyron deux cens personnes, tant hommes, femmes que enfans; lesquelz furent surprins en dormant dedans vng fort, qu'ilz avoyent faict, où myrent lesdictz Toudamans^e le feu, tout alentour, et comme ilz sortoyent, les tuèrent
 32▼ tous, réservé cinq qui eschappèrent. | De laquelle destrouce se plaignoient encores fort, nous monstrant qu'ilz en auroient vengeance. Après lesquelles choses veues, nous retirasmes à noz navires.

^e A has here, *Toudamens*.

the night on their way to Honguedo¹⁸, being on the war-path against the Toudamans with some two hundred men, women and children, who were surprised when asleep in a fort they had thrown up, to which the Toudamans set fire round about and slew them all as they rushed out, except five who made their escape. Of this defeat they still continued to complain bitterly, making clear to us that they would have vengeance for the same. After seeing these things, we returned to our ships.

¹⁸ Gaspé, *Vid.* p. 62 *supra*. We thus see that expeditions from Quebec to Gaspé were frequent and that there was nothing unusual in the expedition of the previous summer in the course of which Taïnoagny and Dom Agaya had been carried off from Gaspé bay by Cartier. *Vid.* p. 64 *supra* and p. 196 *infra*.

DE LA FAÇON DE VIVRE DU PEUPLE DE LADICTE
TERRE; ET DE CERTAINES CONDICTIONS, CRÉANCE
ET FAÇON DE FAIRE ^f QU'ILZ ONT.

Cedict peuple n'a aucune créance de Dieu qui vaille¹⁹; car ilz croyent en^g vng qu'ilz appellent *Cudouagny*; et disent qu'il parle^h souvent à eulx, et leur dict le temps qu'il doit faire. Ilz ^{33r} disentⁱ [aussi] que quant il se courouce à eulx, qu'il leur gecte de la terre aux yeulx. Ilz croient aussi [que] quant ilz trespasent, ilz^j vont es estoilles, puy^k viennent baissant en l'orizon, comme lesdictes estoilles; puy^k [s'en] vont en beaulx champs vers, plains de beaulx arbres, fleurs et fructz sumptueulx.²⁰ Après

^f P has, *vivre*.

^g P has, *à*.

^h P has, *qu'ilz parlent*.

ⁱ C has, *Et dyent*.

^j B has, *qu'ilz*.

^k P and C have, *Et*.

OF THE MANNER OF LIFE OF THE PEOPLE OF THIS
REGION; AND OF SOME OF THEIR CUSTOMS,
BELIEFS AND HABITS.

This tribe has no belief in God that amounts to anything¹⁹; for they believe in a god they call *Cudouagny*, and maintain that he often holds intercourse with them and tells them what the weather will be like. They also say that when he gets angry with them, he throws dust in their eyes. They believe furthermore that when they die they go to the stars and descend on the horizon like the stars. Next, that they go off to beautiful green fields covered with fine trees, flowers and luscious fruits²⁰. After they had explained

¹⁹ Cf. however Clarke, *op. cit.*, 6: "Their [the Hurons'] laws were the laws of nature and of nature's God. They always held the idea that a Great and Good Spirit exists . . . and rules the universe." Cf. pp. 136 and 139.

²⁰ Cf. Thevet, *Cosmographie universelle*, II, 1013^v: "Davantage, ils croyent l'immortalité de l'ame: Et disent . . . que quand vn homme est mort, s'il a esté meschant, il vient vn grand oyseau, ayant des griffes & bec fort aiguz, & trenchans, qui emporte son Ame; mais au contraire, s'il a esté bon, son ame s'en va d'elle mesme en vn lieu embelly de plusieurs sortes d'arbres, & où il y a des oyseaux, qui nuict & iour chantent des chants les plus melodieux du monde. Je tiens cecy d'un Roy de leur païs . . . lequel s'appelloit *Dona coua* (sic.) . . . lequel est mort en France du temps du grand Roy François, parlant assez bien

qu'ilz nous eurent donné ces¹ choses à entendre, nous leur avons remonstré leur erreur, et [dict] que leur Cudouagny est vng mauvais esperit, qui les abuze, et [dict] qu'il n'est qu'un Dieu, qui est au ciel, lequel nous donne tout[es choses nécessaires,] et est créateur de toutes choses, et que en cestuy devons croyre seullement; et qu'il fault estre baptizés ou aller en enffer. Et leur fut remonstré plusieurs aultres choses de nostre foy; ce que facilement ilz ont creu, et appellé leur Cudouagny, *agojuda*^{m 21}, tellement, que plusieurs foyes ont pryé leⁿ cappitaine les faire baptizer. Et y sont |
 33^v venuz ledict seigneur, Taignoagny, dom Agaya^o, avecq^p tout le peuple de leur ville pour le cuyder estre; mayz pource que ne

¹ From A. B has, *ses choses*; C, *cesdictes choses* while P has, *le tout*.

^m P has, *Agouionda*.

ⁿ P has, *nostre*.

^o B has here, *Agaia* but elsewhere as in the text which is also the reading in A, P and C.

^p P and C have, &.

these things to us, we showed them their error and informed them that their *Cudouagny* was a wicked spirit who deceived them, and that there is but one God, Who is in Heaven, Who gives us everything we need and is the Creator of all things and that in Him alone we should believe. Also that one must receive baptism or perish in hell. Several other points concerning our faith were explained to them which they believed without trouble, and proceeded to call their *Cudouagny*, *Agojuda*²¹ to such an extent that several times they begged the Captain to cause them to be baptized. And one day the Chief [Donnacona], Taignoagny and Dom Agaya came with all the people of their village to receive baptism; but since we did not know their real intention and state of mind, and had no one to explain to them our faith, an excuse was made

nostre langue, & y ayant demeuré quatre ou cinq ans, deceda bon Chrestien; lequel i'ay veu, & parlé à luy"; and Morgan, *op. cit.*, 177: "All the powers of the Indian imagination were taxed to picture the glowing beauties of their celestial home. It was fashioned to please the natural senses. A vast plain of illimitable extension, it was spread out with every variety of natural scenery which could please the eye, or gratify the fancy. Forests clothed with ever-living foliage, flowers of every hue in eternal bloom, fruits of every variety in perpetual ripeness, in a word, the meridian charms of nature met the eye in every direction"; and also Clarke, *op. cit.*, 6.

²¹ Florio copying Ramusio has, *Agouiada* and in the margin, "a noughtie liver." Hakluyt has, "*Agouiada*, that is to say, nought."

scavions leur intention et couraige; et qu'il n'y avoyt qui leur remonstrast la foy pour lors, fut prins excuse vers eulx, et dict à Taignoagny et dom Agaya^a, qu'ilz leur fissent entendre, que nous retournerions vng aultre voiaige, et apporterions des prebstres et du cresme, leur donnant à entendre, pour excuse, que l'on ne peult baptizer sans ledict cresme. Ce qu'ilz croient, parce que plusieurs enffans ont veu baptizer en Bretagne; et de la promesse que leur fict le cappitaine de retourner^r, furent fort^s joieulx, et le remercièrent.

Cedict peuple vyt quasi en communauté de biens, assez de la sorte des Brézillans; et sont tous vestuz de peaulx de bestes sauvaiges²², et assez pouvrement^t. L'yver, ilz sont chaussez de chausses | et solliers, [qu'ilz font de peaulx]²³, et l'esté vont des-
34*
chaulx^u. Ilz gardent l'ordre de mariage, fors que les hommes

^a B and A have, *Agaia*; but P and C as in the text.

^r P has, *que leur fust faicte de retourner*. ^s P has, *tresioyeulx*.

^t P has, *pourement*. ^u P and C have, *nudz piedz*.

to them; and Taignoagny and Dom Agaya were requested to tell them that we should return another voyage and would bring priests and some chrism, giving them to understand as an excuse, that no one could be baptized without this chrism. This they believed; for they, [Taignoagny and Dom Agaya], had seen several children baptized in Brittany. And at the Captain's promise to return, they were much pleased and thanked him.

These people live with almost everything in common, much like the Brazilians. They go clothed in beasts' skins²², and rather miserably. In winter they wear leggings and moccasins made of skins²³, and in summer they go barefoot. They maintain the order of marriage except that the men take two or three wives. On the death of their husband the wives never marry again, but

²² There is a blank in Florio who has, "the inhabitours of the Towne of . . . cloath themselves with the skinnes of certaine wilde beasts."

²³ Cf. Lescarbot, *op. cit.*, 1609, 708-9: "Noz Sauvages en hiver usent de bas de chausses grans & hauts comme noz bas à botter, lesquels ils attachent à leur ceinture . . . Or outre ces grans bas de chausses les nôtres usent de souliers, qu'ils appellent *Mekezin*, lesquels ilz façonnent fort proprement, mais ilz ne peuvent pas long temps durer, principalement quand ilz vont en lieux humides; d'autant que le cuir n'est pas couroyé ni endurci, ains seulement façonné en maniere de buffle, qui est cuir d'ellan." Cf. Morgan, *op. cit.*, II, 11-12.

prennent deulx ou troys femmes. Et depuis que le[ur^v] mary est mort, jamays les femmes ne se remarient; ains font le deul²⁴ de ladicte mort toute leur vye, et se taignent le visage de charbon [noir]* pillé^w et de gresse, espetz comme l'espaisseur [du doz] d'un cousteau^x, et à cela congnoist on qu'elles sont veufves²⁵. Ilz ont vne aultre coustume, fort mauvaise, de leurs filles; car depuis qu'elles sont d'aige d'aller à l'homme, elles sont toutes mises en vne maison de bordeau, habandonnées à tout le monde qui en veult, jusques ad ce qu'elles ayent trouvé leur party. Et tout ce avons veu par expérience; car nous avons veu les maisons aussi plaines desdictes filles comme est vne escolle de garçons en France²⁶. Et davantaige le hazart, selon leur modde, tient es-
^{34v}dictes maisons, où ilz jouent | tout ce qu'ilz ont, jusques à la couverture de leur nature²⁷. Ilz ne sont point de grand travail,

^v A and C have *le*.

^w P has, *pellé*.

^x C has, *espetz comme le dotz d'un cousteau*.

wear mourning²⁴ all their lives by dyeing their faces black with brayed charcoal and grease as thick as the back of a knife-blade; and by this one knows they are widows²⁵. They have another very bad custom connected with their daughters who as soon as they reach the age of puberty are all placed in a brothel open to every one, until the girls have made a match. We saw this with our own eyes; for we discovered wigwams as full of these girls as is a boys' school with boys in France²⁶. And furthermore betting, after their fashion, takes place in these wigwams, in which they stake all they own, even to the covering of their privy parts²⁷. They are by no means a laborious people and

²⁴ Although Ramusio gives *portono bruno*, Florio has, "weare a certayne blacke weede all the dayes of their life."

²⁵ Cf. Peter Jones, *op. cit.*, 100-101: "Immediately after the decease of an Indian all the near relatives go into mourning by blackening their faces with charcoal, and putting on the most ragged and filthy clothing they can find. These they wear for a year, which is the usual time of mourning for a husband or wife . . . At the expiration of a year the widow or widower is allowed to marry again," and J. B. Tyrrell, *Thompson's Narrative*, 332.

²⁶ According to Père Lafitau (*Mœurs des sauvages américains*, I, 173-174. Paris, 1724 in 4°) these were virgins.

²⁷ On account of the two meanings of *sbaraglio*, Florio has missed here the sense of Ramusio's correct Italian. Cf. Morgan, *op. cit.*, I, 281-82: "Betting . . . was common among the Iroquois. As this practice was never reprobated by their religious teachers, but, on the contrary, rather encouraged, it frequently

et labourent leur terre avecques petitz boys, comme de la grandeur d'une demye espée²⁸, où ilz font leur bled, qu'ilz appellent *ozisy*^y; lequel est groz comme poix; et de ce mesme^z bled en croist assez au Brésil. Pareillement, ilz ont assez^a de gros mellons²⁹ et concombres, courges^{b30}, poix et febves³¹ de toutes couleurs, non de la

^y P has, *Osizy*, and Ramusio, *Ofizi*.

^z C has, *de semblable*.

^a P has, *grand quantité*.

^b P has, *et* before this word and again after, *febves*.

work the soil with short bits of wood about half a sword in length²⁸. With these they hoe their corn which they call *ozisy*, in size as large as a pea. Corn of a similar kind grows in considerable quantities in Brazil. They have also a considerable quantity of melons²⁹, cucumbers, pumpkins³⁰, pease and beans of various colours and unlike our own³¹. Furthermore they have a plant, of which a large supply is collected in summer for the winter's con-

led to the most reckless indulgence. It often happened that the Indian gambled away every valuable article which he possessed; his tomahawk, his medal, his ornaments and even his blanket"; Sagard, *Dictionnaire de la langue huronne* s. v. "jouer", Paris, 1632; and Lescarbot, *op. cit.*, 788-9.

²⁸ Cf. Lescarbot, *op. cit.*, 1609, 843-4: "Tous ces peuples cultivent la terre avec vn croc de bois, nettoient les mauvaises herbes & les brulent, engraisent leurs champs de coquillages de poissons, puis assemblent leur terre en petites mottes éloignées l'une de l'autre de deux piez, & le mois de May venu ilz plantent leur blé dans ces mottes de terre à la façon que nous faisons les fèves, fichans vn baton, & mettans quatre grains de blé separez l'un de l'autre (par certaine superstition) dans le trou, & entre les plantes dudit blé (qui croit comme vn arbrisseau, & meurt au bout de trois mois) ilz plantent aussi des fèves riolées de toutes couleurs, qui sont fort delicates, lesquelles pour n'estre si hautes, croissent fort bien parmi ces plantes de blé." See F. W. Waugh, *op. cit.*, plate I.

²⁹ Florio has: "muske Millions."

³⁰ Florio has, "Pompons," and has added "Gourdes." Cf. *The Canadian Naturalist*, V, 449, note: "In the opinion of the late Dr. Harris and of Professor Gray, both of whom have given attention to this subject, the aborigines of Eastern America certainly possessed and cultivated the common pumkin, some species of squash and probably two species of beans (*Phaseolus communis* and *lunatus*"); and Morgan, *op. cit.*, II, 34.

³¹ Cf. Thevet, *op. cit.*, 410: "Ils plâtent aussi des feues plates, et blâches comme neige, lesquelles sont fort bônes . . . Il y a d'avantage force citrouilles et coucourdres, lesquelles ils mangent cuites à la braise, côme nous faisons les poires de par deçà"; and F. W. Waugh, *op. cit.*, 3: "One of the outstanding features of Iroquois material culture was their aptitude for agriculture. This was at first concerned largely with the cultivation of corn, beans and squashes."

sorte des nostres. Ilz ont aussi vne herbe³², de quoy ilz font grand amas durant l'esté pour l'yver, laquelle ilz estiment fort, et en vsent les hommes seullement, en la façon qui ensuict. Ilz la font sécher au soleil, et la portent à leur col, en vne petite peau de beste³³, en lieu de sac, avecques vng cornet de pierre, ou de boys³⁴. Puis, à toute heure, font pouldre de ladicte herbe, et la meptent en^e l'vn des boutz dudict cornet; puy^d meptent vng charbon de
 35^r feu dessus, et | sussent par l'autre bout, tant qu'ilz s'emplent le corps de fumée, tellement, qu'elle leur sort par la bouche et par les nazilles, comme par vng tuyau de chemynée. Et disent que cela les tient sains et chauldement; et ne vont jamays sans avoyr cesdictes^e choses³⁵. Nous avons expérimenté^f ladicte fumée. Après

^e From P. A, B and C have, *à*.

^d C has, *et*.

^e P and C have, *sedictes*.

^f P and C have, *esprouvé*

sumption³². They hold it in high esteem, though the men alone make use of it in the following manner. After drying it in the sun, they carry it about their necks in a small skin pouch³³ in lieu of a bag, together with a hollow bit of stone or wood³⁴. Then at frequent intervals they crumble this plant into powder, which they place in one of the openings of the hollow instrument, and laying a live coal on top, suck at the other end to such an extent, that they fill their bodies so full of smoke, that it streams out of their mouths and nostrils as from a chimney. They say it keeps them warm and in good health, and never go about without these things³⁵. We made a trial of this smoke. When it is in

³² Tobacco. Cf. Morgan, *op. cit.*, II, 33-34.

³³ *Ibid.*, 38: "The tobacco-pouch is made of the skin of some small animal, which is taken off entire. It was anciently an indispensable article. They were usually made of white weasel, mink, squirrel, and fisher skin"; and Peter Jones, *op. cit.*, 135, No. 2.

³⁴ Florio has added, "like a pipe." Cf. Morgan, *op. cit.*, II, 6-9.

³⁵ Cf. Lescarbot, *op. cit.*, 1609, 848-49: "Ilz font aussi grand labourage de *Petun*, Chose tres-precieuse entre eux, & parmi tous ces peuples vniverselement. C'est vne plante de la grandeur de *Consolida major* . . . Apres qu'ils ont cuilli cette herbe ilz la mettent secher à l'ombre, & ont certains sachets de cuir pendus à leur col ou ceinture, dans lequel ils en ont toujours, & quant & quant vn calumet, ou petunoir qui est vn cornet troué par le côté, & dedans le trou ilz fichent vn long tuyau, duquel ilz tirent la fumée du petun qui est dans ledit cornet, apres qu'ilz l'ont allumé avec du charbon qu'ilz mettent dessus. Ilz

laquelle avoyr mys dedans nostre bouche, semble y avoir [mis] de la pouldre de poyvre, tant est chaulde. Les femmes dudict pays travaillent sans comparaison plus que les hommes, tant à la pescherie, de quoy font grand faict, que au labour et aultres choses³⁶. Et sont, tant hommes, femmes, que enfans, plus durs que bestes au froict; car, de la plus grand froidure que ayons veu, laquelle estoit^g merveilleuse et aspre³⁷, venoyent pardessus les glaces et naiges, tous les jours, à noz navires, la pluspart d'eulx quasi tous nudz, qui est chose incroyable qui ne le voyt^h. Ilz prennent, durant lesdictes glaces et naiges, grand quantité de bestes sauvaiges, comme | dyns, serfz, et ours, [lièvres, martres, 35v

^g C has, *a esté*

^h P has, *chose fort a croire qui ne la veu; C, chose increable, qui ne l'a veu.*

one's mouth, one would think one had taken powdered pepper, it is so hot. The women of this country work beyond comparison more than the men, both at fishing, which is much followed, as well as at tilling the ground and other tasks³⁶. Both the men, women and children are more indifferent to the cold than beasts; for in the coldest weather we experienced, and it was extraordinary severe³⁷, they would come to our ships every day across the ice

soutiendront quelque fois la faim huit jours avec cette fumée . . . Les Sauvages ne peuvent faire fête à ceux qui les vont voir, de plus grand' chose comme par-deça quand on presente de quelque vin excellent à vn ami . . . Et ceux qui ont entre eux quelque tenebreuse nouvelle de Dieu, disent qu'il petune comme eux, & c'est le vray Nectar decrit par les Poëtes. Cette fumée de petun prise par la bouche en suçtant comme vn enfant qui tette, ilz la font sortir par le nez, & en passant par les conduits de la respiration le cerveau en est rechauffé, & les humiditez d'icelui chassées. Cela aussi étourdit & enivre aucunement, lache le ventre, abbat les ardeurs de Venus, endort, & la feuille de petun, ou cendre qui reste au petunoir consolide les playes." For reproductions of the Hochelaga pipes, see J. W. Dawson, *Fossil Men*, etc., 94-95. Montreal, 1880.

³⁶ Schoolcraft, *op. cit.*, 179: "It is well known that corn-planting, and corn-gathering . . . are left entirely to the females and children . . . This labour is not compulsory and is assumed by the females as a just equivalent, in their view, for the onerous and continuous labour of the other sex, in providing meats, and skins for clothing, by the chase, and in defending their villages against their enemies and keeping intruders off their territories"; and Thevet, *op. cit.*, 410 "Les femmes labourent la terre, et la remuent avec certains instruments faits de longues pierres, et sement les grains," etc.

³⁷ Thevet, *op. cit.*, 408: "Et Dieu sçait si le froid les penetre [les maisons] tant mal basties . . . tellement que bien souuent les piliers et cheurons flechissent et tombent pour la pesanteur de la neige estant dessus."

regnardz, loueres* et aultres], desquelz nous apportoint, mays bien peuⁱ, pource qu'ilz sont [fort gormans et]* villains de leurs vivres. Ilz mengent leur chair toute creue, après avoyr esté séchée à la fumée³⁸, et pareillement^j leur poisson. Ad ce que nous avons congneu^k et peu entendre de cedict peuple, il me semble qu'il seroit aisé à dompter, en telle façon et manière que l'on voudroict. Dieu, par sa sainte miséricorde, y veulhe mettre son regard³⁹. Amen.

ⁱ C has, *et autres, mays ne nous en ont gueres apporté pource que*, etc.

^j C has, *semblablement*.

^k P has, *veu*.

and snow, the majority of them almost stark naked, which seems incredible unless one has seen them. While the ice and snow last, they catch a great number of wild animals such as fawns, stags and bears, hares, martens, foxes, otters and others. Of these they brought us very few; for they are heavy eaters and are niggardly with their provisions. They eat their meat quite raw, merely smoking it, and the same with their fish³⁸. From what we have seen and been able to learn of these people, I am of opinion that they could easily be moulded in the way one would wish. May God in His holy mercy turn His countenance towards them³⁹. Amen.

³⁸ Florio has, "having firste dried it in the Sunne or smoke." Cf. Morgan, *op. cit.*, I, 336: and Waugh, *op. cit.*, 134-137.

³⁹ Florio has, "As farre forth as we coulde perceive and understande by these people, it were a very easie thing to bring them to some familiaritie and civilitie, and make them learne what one woulde. The Lord God for his mercies sake sette there unto his helping hande when hee seeth cause." Cf. Champlain's *Works*, I, 110, and 117.

COMME LEDICT PEUPLE, DE JOUR EN AULTRE,
 NOUS APPORTOIENT DU POISSON ET DE CE QU'ILZ
 AVOYENT À NOS NAVIRES; ET COMME PAR L'AD-
 VERTISSEMENT DE TAIGNOAGNY ET DOM AGAYA,
 LEDICT PEUPLE SE RETIRA DE Y VENYR; ET
 COMME IL Y EUT AUCUN DISCORT ENTRE NOUS
 ET EULX. |

Et depuis, de jour en aultre, venoit ledict peuple à noz ^{36^r} navires, et apportoint force anguilles et aultres poissons, pour avoyr de nostre marchandise; de quoy leur estoit baillé cous-teaulx, allaisnes, patenostres et aultres menues choses, dont ¹ se contentoyent fort. Mays nous apersumes que les deulx meschansque [nous]* avyons apportez ⁴⁰, leur disoient et donnoyent à entendre que ce que nous leur baillons, ne vailloit riens, et qu'ilz auroyent assi^m tost des hachotz comme des cousteaulx, pour ce qu'ilz nous bailloyent, non obstant que le cappitaine leur eust faict beaucoup ⁿ de presens, et si ne cessoyent, à toutes heures, de demander audict cappitaine^o. Lequel fut adverty par vng seigneur de la ville de

¹ C has, *dequoy*.

^m A and C have, *aussi*. This chapter and the following are omitted in P.

ⁿ A has, *beaucoup*.

^o C has, *de luy demander*. *Et fut ledict capitaine adverty*, etc. Lescarbot, (*op. cit.*, 1609, p. 392) has added here, "N'est bon d'amener les Sauvages en France."

HOW DAY BY DAY THESE PEOPLE BROUGHT FISH
 AND WHATEVER ELSE THEY HAD TO OUR SHIPS;
 AND HOW ON THE ADVICE OF TAIGNOAGNY AND
 DOM AGAYA THEY CEASED COMING; AND HOW
 THERE WAS A CERTAIN COLDNESS BETWEEN US.

After this, these people used to come day by day to our ships bringing us plenty of eels and other fish to get our wares. We gave them in exchange knives, awls, beads and other trinkets, which pleased them much. But we perceived that the two rogues whom we had brought with us ⁴⁰, were telling them and giving them to understand that what we bartered to them was of no value, and that for what they brought us, they could as easily get hatchets as knives, although the Captain had made them many presents, which indeed they never for a moment ceased

⁴⁰ Taignoagny and Dom Agaya.

Hagouchonda^p, [qui luy avoit donné vne petite fille en allant à Hochelaga]*⁴², qu'il se donnast garde de Donnacona, et desdictz deux meschans, [Taignoagny et dom Agaya^q]*, et qu'ilz estoient
 Agoluda. *agojuda*, qui est à dire traystre[s]^r [et meschans]*; et aussi en fut adverty par aulcuns dudict Canada⁴². Et aussi, que nous apersumes de leur malice, pource qu'ilz voullurent retirer les troys
 36^v enfans, que ledict Donnacona avoyt | donnez audict cappitaine⁴³, et de faict, firent fuyr la plus grande des filles du navire^s. Après laquelle ainsi fuye, fist le^t cappitaine prandre garde es^u aultres. Et par l'advertissement desdictz Taignoagny et dom Agaya, se abstinèrent et deportèrent [lesdictz Canadians]* de venyr avecques nous, quatre ou cinq jours, sinon aulcuns, qui venoyent en grand[e]* peur et craincte.

^p Lescarbot and the Quebec edition have, *Hagouchouda*. Ternaux-Compans has the same as above. The Vallard map has, *Agochonda* while Mercator gives, *Aygue cheuonda* below Quebec. It is spelt, *Agouchonda* in the list of towns in C, p. 246 *infra*.

^q C has only, *desdictz Taignoagny et dom Agaya*.

^r From A and C.

^s C has, *des navires*.

^t C has, *ledict*.

^u C has, *aulx*.

begging from him. The latter was warned by the chief of the village of Hagouchonda⁴¹, who had presented him with a little girl when he was on his way to Hochelaga, to be on his guard against Donnacona and these two rogues, Taignoagny and Dom Agaya, who were *Agojuda*, that is to say traitors and rogues, and he [Cartier] was also warned against them by some of the Indians of Canada⁴². Besides this we ourselves perceived their malice, when they wished to take away the three [Indian] children whom Donnacona had given to the Captain⁴³; and the older girl in truth was induced by them to run away from the ship. After her escape, the Captain had a watch kept over the others. And on Taignoagny's and Dom Agaya's advice, the Canadians ceased coming to see us for four or five days, except a few who used to come in great fear and trembling.

⁴¹ *Vid.* p. 142 *supra* where the place is called Achelacy.

⁴² *Cf.* p. 103 note 69.

⁴³ *Vid.* p. 132 *supra*.

COMMENT LE^v CAPPITAINE, DOUBTANT QU'ILZ NE
SONGASSENT AUCUNE TRAHISON, FICT RENFORCER
LE FORT; ET COMMENT ILZ VINDRENT PARLEMEN-
TER AVECQUES LUY, ET LA RENDITION DE LA
FILLE, QUI S'EN ESTOIT FUYE. (CHAPPITRE)^w. |

Voyant la malice d'eulx^x, doubtant qu'ilz ne songassent^{37r}
aucune trahison et venyr, avecques vng amast de gens, [courrir]*
sus nous, le^v cappitaine fict renforcer le fort, tout alentour, de
groz fossez, larges et parfondz⁴⁴, avecq porte à pont-levys, et
renffort de pantz de boys, au contraire des premiers. Et fut
ordonné pour le guet de la nuict, pour le temps advenir, cinquante
hommes, à quatre quars, et à chascun changement desdictz cars,
les trompettes sonnentes; ce qui fut faict selon ladicte ordon-
nance. Et lesdictz Donnacona, Taignoagny et dom Agaya,
estans advertiz dudict renffort, et de la bonne garde et guet que
l'on faisoit, furent courroucez d'estre en la male grace du cappi-

^v C has, *nostre*.

^w It is probable that it was the copyist's intention to number the chapters
but this has not been done.

^x C has, *d'iceulx*.

^v C has, *nostre*.

HOW THE CAPTAIN, FEARING LEST SOME TREA-
CHERY SHOULD BE ATTEMPTED, HAD THE FORT
STRENGTHENED, AND HOW THEY CAME TO PARLEY
WITH HIM; AND OF THE RESTORATION OF THE
GIRL WHO HAD RUN AWAY.

Seeing their malice, and fearing lest they should attempt
some treasonable design, and come against us with a host of
Indians, the Captain gave orders for the fort to be strengthened
on every side with large, wide, deep ditches⁴⁴, and with a gate and
drawbridge, and with extra logs of wood set crosswise to the former.
And fifty men were told off for the night-guard in future, in four
watches, and at each change of watch, the trumpets were to be
sounded. These things were done according to the above orders.
And when Donnacona, Taignoagny and Dom Agaya were inform-
ed of this, and of the good watch and ward that was being kept,

⁴⁴ Cf. Champlain, *Œuvres*, III, 156: "& apparence d'y avoir eu des fossez
autour de leur logement," cited *supra* p. 174 note 7.

taine; et envoyèrent, par plusieurs foys, de leurs gens, faignant qu'ilz fussent d'ailleurs, pour veoyr si on leur feroit desplaisir. Desquelz on ne tint compte, et n'en fut fait ny monstré aucun semblant⁴⁵. Et y vindrent | lesdictz Donnacona, Taignoagny, dom Agaya et aultres, plusieurs foys, parler audict cappitaine, vne ripvière entre deulx, demandant audict cappitaine, s'il estoit marry, et pourquoy il n'alloit à Canada les veoyr⁴⁶. Et ledict cappitaine leur respondit qu'ilz n'estoient que traistres et meschans, ainsi que on luy avoyt rapporté; et aussi qu'il l'avoyt appersu en plusieurs sortes, comme de n'avoir tins proumesse de aller à Hoche-laga⁴⁷, et de avoyr retiré la fille que on luy avoit donnée et aultres mauvais tours, qu'il leur nomma; mays pour tout ce, que s'ilz voulloyent estre gens de bien, et oblier^z leur malle volonté, qu'il leur pardonnoyt, et qu'ilz vinssent seurement à bort faire bonne chère, comme pardavant. Desquelles parolles remercyèrent ledict cappitaine^a, et luy promyrent qu'ilz luy rendroient la^b fille

^a A has, *oublyer*; C, *oblyer*. As before mentioned this chapter is not given in P.

^a C has, *dequoy le remercyèrent*.

^b C has, *ladicte*.

they were annoyed to be in the Captain's bad graces, and several times sent some of their people to see if any harm would befall them. No attention was paid to the latter, and no sign shown or exhibited of anything unusual⁴⁵. And several times Donnacona, Taignoagny, Dom Agaya and others came to speak to the Captain from the other side of the river, asking him if he were angry and why he did not go and visit them at Canada⁴⁶. The

⁴⁵ Thevet gives another side of the story: "Ainsi se voulurent ils [les Canadiens] defendre contre les premiers, qui allerent decouvrir leur païs, faisant effort, avec quelques gresses et huiles, de mettre le feu la nuit es nauires des autres abordées au riuage de la mer. Dont les nostres informez de ceste entreprise, y donnerent tel ordre, qu'ils ne furent aucunement incommodez. Toutefois i'ay entendu que ces pauvres Sauvages n'auoient machiné ceste entreprise, que iustement à bõne raison, cõsideré le tort qu'ils auoient receu des autres. C'est qu'estans les nostres descenduz en terre, aucuns ieunes folastres par passe-temps, vicieux toutefois et irraisonnables, comme par une maniere de tyrannie couppoient bras et iambes à quelques uns de ces pauvres gens, seulemēt disoient-ils pour essayer, si leurs espées trenchoient bien, nonobstât que ces pauvres Barbares les eussent receu humainement, avecques toute douceur et amytié," etc. *Singularitez*, etc., 422-23. Cf. also his *Cosmographie universelle*, II, 1012^v.

⁴⁶ Cf. p. 103 note 69, and p. 175, note 9.

qui s'en estoit fuye, dedans troys jours. Et le quatriesme jour de novembre, dom Agaya^c, acompaigné de^d six aultres hommes, vindrent à noz navires pour dire audict cappitaine | que le seigneur ^{38^r} Donnacona estoit allé par le païs, serche[r]^e ladicte fille [qui s'en estoit allée]*, et que le landemain elle luy seroit par luy amenée. Et oultre dist, que Taignoagny estoit fort malade, et qu'il prioit le cappitaine luy enoyer vng peu de sel et de pain. Ce que fist ledict cappitaine, lequel^f luy manda, que c'estoit Jesus qui estoit marry contre^g luy, pour les mauveys tours qu'il avoyt cuyder jouer.

Et le landemain⁴⁹, ledict^h Donnacona, Taignoagny, dom Agaya et plusieurs aultres vindrent, et amenèrent ladicte fille, la représentent audict cappitaine, lequel n'en tint compte, et dist qu'il n'en vouloit point, et qu'ilz la remmenassent. A quoy res-

^c B has here, *Agaia*.

^d C has, *avecques*.

^e From A and C.

^f C has, *et*.

^g C has, *avecques*.

^h C has, *lesdicts*.

Captain answered that they were nothing but traitors and rogues, as had been reported to him, and as he himself had seen on several occasions, as for example in not keeping their promise to go to Hochelaga⁴⁷, and in taking away the girl that had been offered to him⁴⁸, and in other bad turns which he mentioned; but for all that, if they were willing to behave properly and to lay aside their evil thoughts, he would forgive them, and they might come on board in all security and have some good cheer as formerly. For these words they thanked the Captain and promised that within three days, the girl who had run away would be given back. And on [Thursday] November 4, Dom Agaya, accompanied by six other Indians, came to our ships to tell the Captain that Chief Donnacona had gone up country to look for the girl who had run away, and that she would be brought to him on the morrow. He also stated that Taignoagny was very ill and begged the Captain to send him a little bread and salt. The Captain

⁴⁷ Cf. p. 140 *supra*.

⁴⁸ Cf. p. 188 *supra*.

pondirent, faisant leur excuse, qu'ilz ne luy avoyent pas conseilléⁱ s'en aller, ains^j qu'elle s'en estoit allée, pource que les paiges l'avoyent batue, ainsi qu'elle leur avoyt dict; et pryèrent, de
 38^v rechef, le^k cappitaine | de la reprendre; et eulx mesmes la menèrent jusques au navire. Après lesquelles choses, le cappitaine commanda apporte[r]^l pain et vin, et les festoya. Puys prindrent congé les vngs des aultres. Et depuis sont allez et venuz à noz navires, et nous à leur demourance, en aussi grand amour que pardavant.

ⁱ C has, *commandé*.

^j C has, *et*.

^k C has, *ledict*.

^l From A and C.

did so and told them to tell him that it was Jesus who was angry with him for the bad turns he had tried to play.

And on the following day⁴⁹, Donnacona, Taignoagny, Dom Agaya and several others came and brought the girl and offered her anew to the Captain, but the latter paid no attention, and said he would have nothing to do with her, and that they might take her away again. Thereupon they excused themselves, saying they had not counselled her to run away, and that she had done so because the cabin-boys had beaten her, as she had informed them; and again they begged the Captain to take her back and themselves brought her as far as the ship. After this the Captain ordered bread and wine to be brought and entertained them. Then they took leave of one another, and thenceforward both they and we came and went between our ships and their village in as friendly a manner as before.

⁴⁹ Friday, November 5.

DE LA GRANDEUR ET PARFONDEUR DUDICT
FLEUVE EN GÉNÉRAL; ET DES BESTES, OYSEAULX,
POISSONS, ARBRES ET AULTRES CHOSES, QUE Y
AVONS VEU; ET DE LA SCITUACION DES LIEUX. |

Ledict fleuve⁵⁰ commence passé l'isle de l'Assumption⁵¹, le ³⁹ travers des haultes montaignes de Honguedo⁵² et des Sept Ysles⁵³; et y a de distance en traverse envyron trente cinq ou quarante lieues; et y a au parmy plus de deux cens brasses de parfond. Le plus parfond, et le plus seur à naviguer, est du cousté devers le su. Et devers le nort, savoir, esdictes Sept Ysles, y a d'un cousté et d'autre envyron sept lieues loing desdictes ysles, deux grosses ripvières⁵⁴, qui descendent des monts du^m Saguenay⁵⁵, lesquelles font plusieurs bancqs à la mer⁵⁶, fort dongereulx. A l'entrée desdictes ripvières, avons veu grand nombre deⁿ bail-
laines et chevaulx de mer⁵⁷.

^m P has, *de*.

ⁿ P and C have, *plusieurs*.

OF THE SIZE AND DEPTH OF THIS RIVER IN
GENERAL; AND OF THE BEASTS, BIRDS, FISHES,
TREES AND OTHER THINGS WE SAW ALONG IT;
AND OF THE SITUATION OF THE VILLAGES.

This river⁵⁰ begins just beyond the island of Assumption⁵¹, opposite to the high mountains of Honguedo⁵² and the Seven islands⁵³, and the width across is some thirty-five or forty leagues, with a depth in the middle of 200 fathoms. The deeper side and the safer to navigate is along the south shore. And on the north shore, namely about seven leagues on each side of the Seven islands, are two large rivers⁵⁴ which flow down from the mountains of the Saguenay⁵⁵, and form several very dangerous shoals in the gulf⁵⁶. At the mouths of these rivers we saw a large number of whales and sea horses⁵⁷.

⁵⁰ The St. Lawrence.

⁵¹ Anticosti island. *Vid.* p. 104.

⁵² Notre-Dame mountains in Gaspé. *Vid.* p. 103.

⁵³ Seven Islands. The distance across to cape Ste. Anne on the Gaspé shore is about fifty-six miles. *Vid.* pp. 109 and 111.

⁵⁴ Pentecost river on the west and Moisie river to the east of the Seven Islands.

⁵⁵ The Laurentides.

⁵⁶ Moisie shoal and rock.

⁵⁷ Walruses. *Vid.* p. 110, and also p. 34.

Le travers desdictes Sept Ysles y a vne petite ripvière⁵⁸, qui va troys ou quatre lieues en° la terre pardessus des maretz, en laquelle y a | vng merueilleux nombre de tous oiseaulx de ripvières. Depuis le commencement dudict fleuve jusques à Hochelaga, y a troys cens lieues et plus⁵⁹. Et [est] le commencement d'icelluy à la ripvière, qui vient du Saguenay⁶⁰, laquelle sort d'entre haultes montaignes, et entre dedans ledict fleuve, auparavant que arryver à la prouvyne de Canada, de la bande devers le nort; et est icelle ripvière⁶⁰ fort parfonde, estroicte, et fort dongereuse à naviguer.⁶¹

Après ladicte ripvière⁶⁰, est la prouvyne de Canada⁶², où il y a plusieurs peuples, par villaiges non cloz. Il y a aussi, es envyrans dudict Canada, dedans ledict fleuve, plusieurs ysles, tant

°P has, d.

Opposite to the Seven islands is a small river⁵⁸, which passes through swamps for some three or four leagues from the coast, and up which are a marvellous number of all kinds of water fowl. The distance from the mouth of this River [St. Lawrence] to Hochelaga is 300 leagues and more⁵⁹. It begins at the tributary which comes from the Saguenay⁶⁰, which issues from between lofty mountains and flows into this river on the north side before one arrives at the province of Canada. This [Saguenay] tributary is extremely deep and narrow and is very difficult to navigate⁶¹.

Above this tributary⁶⁰ lies the province of Canada⁶² where live several tribes in open villages. Several large and small islands lie in the river within the limits of Canada, and among

⁵⁸ St. Margaret river a few miles to the west. It was seen by Champlain in 1603 (*Works*, I, 173).

⁵⁹ The distance from Montreal to the Atlantic is 873 miles. The distance from Cape Chatte opposite pointe des Monts to Montreal is 373 miles and from the Saguenay to Montreal, 243 miles.

⁶⁰ The Saguenay.

⁶¹ Cf. Bayfield, *op. cit.*, I, 327-28: "For the first 50 miles up from its confluence with the St. Lawrence . . . the Saguenay is from two-thirds of a mile to 2 miles wide, filling up a deep transverse valley through mountains of sienitic granite and gneiss. These mountains rise everywhere more or less abruptly from the water, forming, in some parts, precipitous headlands more than 1,000 feet in height . . . Within the same part of the Saguenay the water is almost as deep as the mountains are high. The bed of the Saguenay for many miles, is sunk more than 100 fathoms below that of the St. Lawrence at their point of junction"; and Appendix II, p. 292.

⁶² Cf. p. 103 note 69.

grandes que petites; et entre aultres, y en (y) a vne⁶³ qui contient plus de dix lieues de long, laquelle est plaine de beaulx et | grandz^{40r} arbres^p; et [aussi en icelle y a] force vigne[s]. Il y a passaige des deux coustez d'icelle; le meilleur et le plus seur est du cousté devers le su⁶⁴. Et au bout^a d'icelle ysle, vers l'ouaist, y a vng affourq^r d'eaues⁶⁵, [lequel est fort] beau et delectable, pour Destroit de Kebec.⁶⁷ meptre navires⁶⁶, ouquel il y a vng destroit dudict fleuve, fort courant et parfond; mays il n'a de laize^s que envyron vng tiers de lieue⁶⁸. Le travers duquel, y a vne terre double⁶⁹, de bonne

^p P and C have, *beaulx arbres & haultz*.

^a P has, *bort*.

^r P has, *affoug*.

^s P has, *long*.

the rest is one⁶³ more than ten leagues in length which is covered with fine high trees and with many vines upon it. There is a passage on both sides of this island but the better and safer one is on the south side⁶⁴. And at the western extremity of this island [of Orleans] there is a forking of the waters⁶⁵ which is a fine pleasant spot for laying up vessels⁶⁶. Here the river [St. Lawrence] becomes narrow, swift and deep, and but a quarter of a league in width⁶⁸. Opposite to this spot the shore rises to a good height in two ridges of cultivated land⁶⁹, and is as good soil as it is possible to find. There⁷⁰ stands the village and abode of Chief Donna-

⁶³ The island of Orleans which is twenty-one miles long. *Vid.* p. 119 *supra*.

⁶⁴ This is the regular ship channel. *Cf.* p. 120 note 52.

⁶⁵ The St. Charles river makes the fork. See p. 123.

⁶⁶ Florio has added: "with a Towne therein."

⁶⁷ It is impossible to know when this marginal note was added. The first known appearance of the name is on the Le Vasseur map of 1601. *Vid.*, Harris, *op. cit.*, p. 194, and p. 107 *supra*.

⁶⁸ The St. Lawrence is only some 3,230 feet wide at Quebec.

⁶⁹ Quebec rises in two ridges, the first ending at Dufferin terrace while on top of the second stands the Citadel. Cape Diamond is 350 feet in height. *Cf.* Champlain's *Works*, I, 129: "Nous vinsmes mouïller l'ancre à Quebec, qui est vn destroit de la dicte riuiere de Canadas, qui a quelque 300 pas de large: il y a à ce destroit, du costé du Nort vne montaigne assez haulte qui va en abbaissant des deux costez; tout le reste est pays vny & beau, où il y a de bonnes terres plaines d'arbres, etc."

⁷⁰ Evidently on cape Diamond itself though the exact site is not stated. M. Faribault (Quebec edition p. 54 note) gave the present Faubourg Saint-Jean as the site, while Ferland (*op. cit.*, I, 27, note) says: "entre la rue de la Fabrique

haulteur, toute labourée, aussi bonne terre qu'il soit possible de veoyr^t; et là⁷⁰ est la ville et demourance du seigneur Donnacona, et de noz deulx hommes que avyons^u prins le premier voiaige⁷¹, laquelle demourance se nomme Stadaconé⁷². Et auparavant que arriver audict lieu, y a quatre peuples et demourances^v, savoyr: Ajoaste^w, Starnatam^x, Tailla, qui est sus vne montaigne, et
^{40v} Sitadin^y. Puys, ledict lieu de Stadaconé, soubz laquelle | haulte terre, vers le nort, est la ripvière et hable de sainte Croix⁷³, ouquel lieu avons esté depuis le quinziesme jour de septembre, jusques au VI^{me}⁷⁴ jour de may, V^eXXXVI, ouquel lieu les na-

^t P has, *comme iamaïs homme veist*; C, *que jamais homme vid*.

^u P has, *qui avoient esté*.

^v P has, *de demourance*.

^w P has, *Araste*, but in the list of towns in C (p.) the spelling is again the same as in the text. Cf. *Transactions of the Royal Society* 2nd ser., V, ii, 207. 1899.

^x P has, *Starnatan*. One can also read, *Starnatain* or *Staonatam* and *Staonatain*. Lescarbot, Faribault and Ternaux-Compans all have the same as in the text.

^y P has, *Scitadin* while Lescarbot gives, *Satadin* which is also the reading in the Quebec and Ternaux-Compans editions. A, B and C have the above. *Vid.*, p. 360 *infra*, note 1.

cona and of our two Indians [Taignoagny and Dom Agaya] whom we had seized on our first voyage⁷¹. This village is called Stadacona⁷². And before reaching this point, there are four tribes and villages, namely: Ajoaste, Starnatam, Tailla, which is on a mountain, and Sitadin. Then the village of Stadacona. Beneath this high land on the north lies the river and harbour of Ste. Croix [St. Charles], where we remained with our ships hauled out, as before mentioned, from September 15, [1535] until May 6⁷⁴, 1536. Beyond this point lies the abode of the people of Tequenonday and of Hochelay⁷⁵, the former on a mountain and the latter in a flat region.

et le côteau de Sainte-Geneviève, près de la côte d'Abraham." Parkman placed it, "on ground now covered by the suburbs of St. Roque and St. John." (*Pioneers*, etc. 207, note I). Cf. also N. E. Dionne, *Jacques Cartier*, p. 247, note G. Québec, 1889.

⁷¹ At Gaspé. Cf. p. 66 *supra*.

⁷² *Vid.* p. 124 note 67.

⁷³ The St. Charles river. Cf. pp. 123 *et seq.*

⁷⁴ Ramusio has *sedici* whence Florio's "sixteenth of May."

vires demeurent assec, comme cy davant est dict. Passé ledict lieu, est^a la demourance du^z peuple de Tequenonday^a et de Hochelay⁷⁵, lequel Tequenonday est sus vne montaigne, et l'autre en vng plain pays^o.

Toute la terre des deux coustez dudict fleuve jusques à Hochelaga⁷⁶ et oultre, est aussi belle [terre] et vnye que jamays homme regarda. Il y a aucunes montaignes, assez loing dudict fleuve, que on veoyt par sus lesdictes terres⁷⁷, desquelles il descend plusieurs ripvières, qui entrent dedans ledict fleuve. Toute ceste-dicte terre est couverte et plaine de | boys de plusieurs sortes⁷⁸, 41^r et force vignes, exepté à l'entour des peuples, laquelle ilz ont desertée, pour faire leur demourance et labour. Il y a grand nombre de grandz serfz, dins, hours et aultres bestes. Nous y avons veu les

^a P has, & in both places.

^a P has, *Tequenondahi* while Lescarbot has read, *Tequenouday* which the Quebec editor copied. Ternaux-Compans has, *Tequeurnday*. In the list of towns in C (p. 418) it is, *Thequenondahy*. According to Mr. W. D. Lighthall the modern Huron form is "Tekenonkiaye." (*Transactions of the Royal Society*, 2nd ser., V, ii, 207). The Harleian mappemonde has, *Tequenonelay* while Mercator's map has, *Tequondelay*.

^o P has, *Tequenondahi, qui est sur une mōtaine & la ville de Hochelay, Lequel Hochelay est vng plain pays*.

The whole country on both sides of this river [St. Lawrence] up as far as Hochelaga⁷⁶ and beyond, is as fine a land and as level as ever one beheld. There are some mountains visible at a considerable distance from the river⁷⁷, and into it several tributaries flow down from these. This land is everywhere covered and overrun with timber of several sorts⁷⁸ and also with quantities

⁷⁵ This may be the same as the *Achelacy* mentioned above (p. 142). Indeed the Harleian mappemonde, the Mercator, Hakluyt and Le Vasseur maps all give Hochelay at that point. Ferland (*op. cit.*, I, 28) also considered them as one. It is spelt, *Ochela* in the list of towns in C (p. 246). Ramusio has " & la valle di *Hochelay*" whence Florio's " and the valley of Hochelay."

⁷⁶ Hakluyt has put "Hochelay." These first two sentences are omitted in Florio.

⁷⁷ Hakluyt has, "above the foresaid towns." These mountains were the Laurentian hills on the north and the Notre Dame, Ste. Anne and Adirondack mountains on the south.

⁷⁸ Cf. Thevet, *Cosmographie universelle*, II, 1014: "Il y a force arbres & de diuerses sortes, desquels nous n'auons aucune cognoissance pardeçà, & qui ont grande propriété & en fut apporté plusieurs plantes & arbrisseaux, que lon voit encores aujourd'huy au iardin Royal de Fontainebleau."

pas d'une beste, qui n'a que deulx piedz, laquelle nous avons suyvie longuement pardessus le sable et vase, laquelle a les piedz en ceste façon, grandz^d d'une paulme et plus⁸⁰. Il y a force loueres, byèvres, martres, regnardz, chatz sauvaiges, lièpvres, connyns, escureulx, ratz^e, lesquelz sont groz à merveilles, et aultres sauvagines. Ilz se acoustrent des peaulx d'icelles bestes, pource qu'ilz n'ont nulz aultres acoustremens. Il y a [aussi] grand nombre d'oiseaulx, savoir: grues, oultardes, signes, oayes sauvaiges, blanches et grises, cannes, cannardz, merles, mauvys, turtres, ramyers, chardonne-
 41^v reulx, tarins^f, seryns, | lunottes, rossignolz⁸¹, passes sollitaires, et aultres oiseaulx comme en France. Aussi, comme par cy davant est faicte mention es chappitres précédens⁸², cedit fleuve est le plus habundant de toutes sortes de poissons qu'il soyt memoire d'homme avoyr jamays veu ny ouy; car depuis le commencement jusques à la fin, y treuverez, selon les saisons, la pluspart des sortes

^d C has, *et grandz*.

^e A has, *et ratz*.

^f P has, *turnis*.

of vines, except in the neighbourhood of the tribes, who have cleared the land for their village and crops. There are a large number of big stags, does, bears and other animals. We beheld the footprints of a beast with but two legs, and followed his tracks over the sand and mud for a long distance. Its paws were more than a palm in size⁸⁰. Furthermore there are many otters, beavers, martens, foxes, wild-cats, hares, rabbits, squirrels, wonderfully large [musk-] rats and other wild beasts. The natives wear the skins of these animals for want of other apparel. There are also great numbers of birds, to wit: cranes, bustards, swans, white and gray wild geese, ducks, drakes, blackbirds, thrushes, turtle-doves, wood-pigeons, goldfinches, tarins, canaries, linnets, nightingales⁸¹, sparrows and other birds the same as in France. Again this river [St. Lawrence] as has been already stated in the preceeding chapters⁸², is the richest in every kind of fish that any one remembers having ever seen or heard of; for from its mouth to the head of

⁸⁰ Four inches. Had this phrase not been omitted in P, we might attribute to it Cartier's presence in the circle about *Ouy dire* and his mappemonde. Cf. Rabelais, *Œuvres*, édition Burgaud et Rathery, II, liv. V, chap. XXXI, Paris, 1887; and see p. 222, note 41, and Lescarbôt, *op. cit.*, 1609, 428.

⁸¹ Cf. pp. 144-145 note 14.

⁸² Cf. pp. 120 and 132.

et espesses de^h poissons de la mer et eaue doulce. Vous treuverez jusques audict Canada⁸³, force baillaines, marsoins, chevaulx de mer, *adhothuys*⁸⁴, qui est vne sorte de poisson, duquel jamais n'avyons veu ny ouy parler. Ilz sont blancs comme neige, et grandzⁱ comme marsoins, et ont le corps et la teste comme lepriers; lesquelz se tiennent entre la mer et l'eaue doulce, qui commande entre la ripvière du Saguenay et Canada⁸⁵. |

Item, y treuverez en jung, juillet et aoust, force macque-^{42*} reaulx, mulletz^j, bars, sartres⁸⁶, grosses anguilles et aultres poissons. Ayant leur saison passée, y treuverez l'epelan, aussi bon que en la ripvière de Saine. Puys, au renouvieau, y a force lamproys et saulmon. Passé ledict Canada⁸³, y a force brochetz, truyttes, carpes, branmes, et aultres poissons d'eaue doulce. Et de toutes ses sortes de poissons, faict ledict peuple, de chascun selon leur saison, grosse pescherye, pour leur substance et victuaille. |

^h C has, *des*.

ⁱ P has, *gros*. ^j C has, *merles*. This paragraph is omitted in P.

it, you will find in their season the majority of the [known] varieties and species of salt-and fresh-water fish. Up as far as Canada⁸³, you will meet with many whales, porpoises, sea-horses, walruses and *Adhothuys*⁸⁴, which is a species of fish that we had never seen or heard of before. They are as white as snow and have a head like a greyhound's. Their habitat is between the ocean and the fresh-water that begins between the river Saguenay and Canada⁸⁵.

Moreover you will find in this river [St. Lawrence] in June, July and August great numbers of mackerel, mullets, maigres, tunnies⁸⁶, large-sized eels and other fish. When their [spawning] season is over you will find as good smelts as in the river Seine. In spring again there are quantities of lampreys and salmon. Up above Canada⁸³ are many pike, trout, carp, breams and other fresh-water fish. All these varieties are caught, each in its season, in considerable quantities by these people for their food and sustenance.

⁸³ Cf. p. 103 note 69.

⁸⁴ The beluga or white whale mentioned above p. 117.

⁸⁵ The fresh water begins at Grosse isle.

⁸⁶ *Sardes* is the general name for the *scombre* family to which both the mackerel and the tunny belong. Cf. F. W. Waugh, *op. cit.*, 136 *et seq.* on the fish diet of the Indians.

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CHAPPITRE D'AULCUNS ENSEIGNEMENS QUE CEULX
DU PAYS NOUS ONT DONNÉ, DESPUYS ESTRE
REVENUZ DE HOCHELAGA.

Despuys estre arrivez^k de Hochelaga avecq le gallion et les barques, avons conversé, allé et venu avecques les peuples les plus prochains de noz navires en doulceur et amytié, fors que, par foys, avons eu aulcuns^l différendz avecques aulcuns maulvays garçons, dont les aultres estoient fort marriz et couroucez. Et avons entendu par le seigneur Donnacona, Taignoagny, dom Agaya et aultres, que la ripvière davant dicte et^m nommée *la ripvière du Saguenay*, vaⁿ jusques auidict Saguenay⁸⁷, qui est

^k P has, *revenuez*.

^l P has, *ayons quelques*.

^m A and P have, *est*.

ⁿ P has, & *va*.

A CHAPTER OF SOME INFORMATION WHICH THE
NATIVES GAVE US AFTER OUR RETURN FROM
HOCHELAGA.

On our return from Hochelaga with the bark and the long-boats, we held intercourse and came and went among the tribes nearest to our ships in peace and friendship, except for a few quarrels now and then with some bad boys, at which the others were very angry and much annoyed. And we learned from Chief Donnacona, from Taignoagny, Dom Agaya and the others that the above-mentioned river, named the "river of the Saguenay," reaches to the [kingdom of the] Saguenay⁸⁷, which lies more than a moon's journey from its mouth, towards the west-north-west; but that after eight or nine days' journey, this river is only navigable for small boats⁸⁸; that the regular and direct route to the [kingdom of the] Saguenay and the safer one, is by the river [St. Lawrence] to a point above Hochelaga where there is a tributary⁹⁰, which flows down from the [kingdom of the] Saguenay, and enters this river [St. Lawrence], as we ourselves saw, from

⁸⁷ The kingdom of the Saguenay mentioned above p. 170.

⁸⁸ The navigation on the Saguenay is interrupted by the falls above Chicoutimi.

⁸⁹ The St. Lawrence.

⁹⁰ The Ottawa.

loing^o du commencement | de plus d'une lune^p de chemyn, vers 43^r
 l'ouaist norouaist; et que passé huict ou neuf journées, elle n'est
 plus parfonde que pour bateaulx⁸⁸; mays que le droict et bon
 chemin [dudict Saguenay⁸⁷], et plus seur, est par ledict fleuve⁸⁹,
 jusques audessus de^q Hochelaga, à vne ripvière⁹⁰ qui descend
 dudict Saguenay⁸⁷ et entre oudict fleuve⁸⁹; ce que avons veu; et
 que de là⁹¹ sont vne lune à y aller. Et nous ont faict entendre,
 que audict lieu les gens sont [vestuz et] habillez de draps, comme
 nous, et [qu'il] y a force villes et peuples, et bonne[s]^r gens, et
 qu'ilz ont grand*[e] quantité d'or et cuyvre rouge. Et nous ont

^o P has, *plus loing*.

^p Here and a little lower down P has, *lieue*.

^q P and C have, *jusques, à*.

^r From A and P.

which point⁹¹ the journey takes one moon. And they gave us
 to understand, that in that country⁸⁷ the natives go clothed and
 dressed in woolens like ourselves; that there are many towns and
 tribes composed of honest folk who possess great store of gold and
 copper. Furthermore they told us that the whole region from
 the first-mentioned river⁹² up as far as Hochelaga and [the king-
 dom of the] Saguenay is an island, which is encircled and sur-
 rounded by rivers and by the said river [St. Lawrence]⁹⁴; and
 that beyond the [kingdom of the] Saguenay, this tributary⁹⁵
 flows through two or three large, very broad lakes⁹⁶, until one

⁹¹ The junction of the Ottawa with the St. Lawrence.

⁹² The river Saguenay.

⁹³ The kingdom of the Saguenay.

⁹⁴ The head waters of the Gatineau, ■ tributary of the Ottawa lie in fact
 within a very short distance of the head waters of the Chamouchouan, which
 flows into lake St. John, whence the Saguenay takes its rise. The region between
 the Ottawa and the Saguenay rivers is therefore virtually encircled by the
 Gatineau, the Ottawa, the St. Lawrence, the Saguenay and the Chamouchouan.

⁹⁵ The Ottawa.

⁹⁶ These lakes were Nipissing, Des Allumettes and the others of the
 chain leading from the Ottawa to Georgian bay via the Mattawan. This route
 to lake Huron via the Ottawa, Mattawan and the above lakes continued to be
 the only one used throughout the whole of the sixteenth and the first half of the
 seventeenth centuries. *Vid.* Champlain, *op. cit.*, IV, 19 *et seq.*, and Sagard,
op. cit., 60 *et seq.*

dict que le tout de la terre, depuis ladicte première ripvière⁹² jusques audict Hochelaga et Saguenay⁹³, est vne ysle, laquelle est circuitte et envyronnée de ripvières et dudict fleuve^{s 94}; et
 43^v que, passé ledict Saguenay⁹³, va ladicte | ripvière⁹⁵ entrent en deux ou troys grandz lacqs d'eaue⁹⁶, fort larges^t; puy, que l'on treuve vne mer douce⁹⁷, de laquelle n'est mention avoyr veu le bout, ainsi^u qu'ilz ont ouy par ceulx du Saguenay; car ilz nous ont dict n'y avoyr esté⁹⁸. Oultre, nous ont donné à entendre, que ou lieu où avyons laissé nostre gallion quant fumes à Hochelaga⁹⁹, y a vne ripvière¹⁰⁰, qui va vers le surouaist, où

^s P has, *dudict fleuve & de rivières*.

^t The word, *fort* has been erased in B and is also omitted in P and C. It is given however in A. P has also omitted the word, *larges*.

^u P has, *a ce*.

reaches a fresh-water sea⁹⁷, of which there is no mention of anyone having seen the bounds, as the people of the [kingdom of the] Saguenay had informed them; for they themselves, they told us, had never been there⁹⁸. They also informed us that at the place where we had left our bark when on our way to Hochelaga⁹⁹,

⁹⁷ Lake Huron.

⁹⁸ The Mercator map gives the lake with the following inscription: "Hic mare est dulcium aquarum, cuius terminum ignorari Canadenses ex relatu Saguenaiensium aiunt." See Kohl, *op. cit.*, 384, N° XXII. In his map of 1599-1600 Hakluyt calls it: "The Lake of Tadouac the boundes wherof are unknowne." Cf. also Noel's letter in Appendix VI, pp. 313-314.

⁹⁹ At the head of lake St. Peter. *Vid.* p. 146 *supra*.

¹⁰⁰ The Richelieu river.

semblablement, sont vne lune à aller avecq leurs barques depuis sainte Croix¹ jusques à vne terre, où il n'y a jamais glaces ny naiges; mais que en cestedicte terre y a guerres continuelles, les vngs contre^v les aultres; et que en icelle [terre] y a oranges, almendes, noix, prunes^w, et aultres sortes de fruictz, et en grand habundance^x. Et nous ont dict, les | hommes et habitans^y 44^o d'icelle terre estre vestuz et acoustrez de peaulx, comme eulx. Après leur avoyr demandé s'il y a[voit] de l'or et du cuyvre, nous ont dict que non. Je estime, à leur dire, ledict lieu estre vers la Floridde, ad ce qu'ilz monstrent par leurs signes et merches^z.

^v P has, *avec*.

^w P has, *pommes*.

^x Lescarbot has added here (*op. cit.*, 1609, p. 391): "& font de l'huile qu'ilz tirent des arbres tres-bonnes à la guerison des playes." which the Quebec editor also inserted (p. 56). Cf. Lescarbot, *op. cit.*, 852.

^y P has, *femmes*.

^z P has, *marches*. Lescarbot has altered this to read: "J'estime à leur dire ledict lieu estre vers la Terre-neuve où fut le Capitaine Jean Verazzan," etc.

there is a river [Richelieu] flowing from the south-west, and that along it they likewise journey in their canoes from Ste. Croix [the St. Charles] for one month to a land where ice and snow never come; but in which there are continual wars of one tribe against the other. In that country grow in great abundance oranges, almonds, walnuts, plums and other varieties of fruit. They also told us that the inhabitants of that land were dressed and clothed in furs, like themselves. On inquiring if gold and copper were to be found there, they said no. From these statements, and judging from their signs and the indications they gave us, I am of opinion that this land lies towards Florida.

¹ The river St. Charles.

D'VNE GROSSE MALADIE ET MORTALITÉ, QUI A
ESTÉ AU PEUPLE DE STADACONÉ, DE LAQUELLE,
POUR LES AVOYR FREQUENTEZ, EN AVONS ESTÉ
ENLOUEZ^a, TELLEMENT QU'IL EST MORT DE NOZ
GENS JUSQUES AU NUMBRE DE VING[T] CINQ. |

44^v Au moys de decembre, fumes advertiz que la mortalité²
s'estoit mise audict peuple de Stadaconé^b, tellement que ja en
estoient mors, par leur confession, plus de cinquante; au moien
de quoy leur fimes deffence^c de non venyr à nostre fort, ny
entour nous³. Mays non obstant les avoyr chassez, commança
la maladie^d entour nous, d'une merveilleuse sorte et la plus incon-
gnue⁴; car les vngs perdoyent la soustenue^{e5}, et leur^f devenoyent
les jambes grosses et enflées, et les nerfz retirez et noirciz

^a P has, *imbouez*.

^b A has, *Stadaconné*.

^c A has, *deffences*, while P reads, *leur deffendismes nostre fort & ~~ne~~ venir
entour nous*; C has, *leur deffensames nostre fort et de ne venyr entour nous*.

^d From P and C. A and B have, *mortalité*.

^e A and P have, *substance*.

^f P has inserted, *de* before this word.

OF A GREAT SICKNESS AND PESTILENCE WHICH
VISITED THE PEOPLE OF STADACONA, BY WHICH,
FOR HAVING FREQUENTED THEM, WE WERE
ATTACKED TO SUCH AN EXTENT THAT THERE
DIED AS MANY AS TWENTY-FIVE OF OUR MEN.

In the month of December we received warning that the
pestilence² had broken out among the people of Stadacona to
such an extent, that already, by their own confession, more than
fifty persons were dead. Upon this we forbade them to come either
to the fort or about us³. But notwithstanding we had driven
them away, the sickness broke out among us accompanied by
most marvellous and extraordinary symptoms⁴; for some lost
all their strength⁵, their legs became swollen and inflamed, while

² The scurvy.

³ Florio has "whereupon we forbad them neyther to come neere our Forte,
nor about our ships, or us."

⁴ Ramusio has, *della piu strana sorte, & non mai piu intesa ne udita che mai
fosse*, whence Florio's "after the strangest sort that ever was eyther heard of
or seene."

⁵ Ramusio has, *percioche alcuni perdevano le forze di sostenersi in piedi*,
whence Florio's, "in so much, as some did lose all their strength, and could not
stand on their feete."

comme charbon, et aucunes^g toutes semées de gouttes de sang comme pou[r]pre; puy montoyt ladicte maladie aux hanches, cuysse, espaulles^h, aux brazⁱ et au col⁶. Et à tous^j venoyt la bouche si infecte et pourrye par les gencives, que toute la chair en tumboyt, jusques à la racine des dents, lesquelles tumboyent presques toutes⁷. | Et tellement se esprint ladicte maladie en 45^o noz trois navires⁸, que à la my febvrier, de cent dix hommes que nous estions, il n'y en avoyt pas dix sains, tellement que^k l'un ne pouvoyt secourir l'autre, qui estoit chose piteuse à veoyr, consideré le lieu où nous estions. Car les gens du pays venoyent, tous les jours davant nostre fort, qui peu de gens voyoyent debout; et ja y en avoyt huict de mors, et plus de cinquante [en qui^l] on n'esperoit plus de vye.

^g P has, *à aucuns*; C, *à aulcuns*.

^h P has, *& espaulles*.

ⁱ A has, *au bras*.

^j P has, *tout*.

^k P and C have, *en sorte que*.

^l From P and C. A and B have, *où*.

the sinews contracted and turned as black as coal. In other cases the legs were found blotched with purple-coloured blood. Then the disease would mount to the hips, thighs, shoulders, arms and neck⁶. And all had their mouths so tainted, that the gums rotted away down to the roots of the teeth, which nearly all fell out⁷. The disease spread among the three ships⁸ to such an extent, that in the middle of February [1536], of the 110 men forming our company, there were not ten in good health so that no one could aid the other, which was a grievous sight considering the place where we were. For the people of the country who used to come daily up to the fort, saw few of us about. And not only were eight men dead already but there were more than fifty whose case seemed hopeless.

⁶ Ramusio has, *nelle anche, coscie, spalle, allo brazzi, al collo*, while Florio gives, "to theyr ankles, knees, thighs, shoulders, armes and necke."

⁷ Cf. Cleirac, *Explication des termes de marine*, Bourdeaux, 1660, p. 25: "*Le mal de terre ou mal des gencives . . . c'est avoir l'estomac depravé, une grande fetur & puantise d'haleine que blesse les gencives & fait tomber les dents, & provient de manger trop souvent des viandes salées, espicées, & de haut goust, & pour boire le vin pur ou les eaux corrompues*"; and Champlain, *Œuvres*, V, 14-15.

⁸ This would seem to indicate that the *Emérillon* had also been brought into the St. Charles after their return from Hochelaga. *Vid.* p. 208 *infra*.

Nostre cappitaine, voyant la pitié et maladie ainsi esmue, fict meptre le monde en prières et oraisons, et fist porte[r]^m vng ymaige etⁿ remembrance de la Vierge Marie⁹ contre vng arbre, distant de nostre fort d'un treict d'arc, le travers les^o neiges et glaces; et ordonna que, le dimanche ensuyvant, l'on diroyt audict lieu la messe; et que tous ceulx qui pourroient chemyner, tant
 45^v sains que malades, yroient à la procession, chantant | les sept pseaulmes^{p10} de David, avecq la Letanye¹¹, en priant ladicte Vierge¹² qu'il luy pleust pryer son cher enfant qu'il eust pitié de nous. Et la^q messe dicte et chantée^r davant ladicte ymaige, se fist le cappitaine pellerin à Nostre Dame qui se faict deprier

^m From A and P.

ⁿ P has, *en*.

^o P and C have *des*.

^p From A, P and C. B has, *pheaulmes*. The copyist of C first wrote *pheaulmes* but afterwards corrected it to *pseaulmes*.

Our Captain, seeing the plight we were in and how general the disease had become, gave orders for all to pray and to make orisons, and had an image and figure of the Virgin Mary⁹ carried across the ice and snow and placed against a tree about a bow-shot from the fort, and issued an order that on the following Sunday, mass should be said at that spot, to which all who could walk, both sick and well, should make their way in a procession, singing the seven psalms of David¹⁰ with the Litany¹¹, praying the Virgin to be good enough to ask her dear Son¹² to have pity upon us. And when the mass had been said and sung before the image, the Captain made a vow to go on a pilgrimage to Our

[■] As England had accepted the Reformation Florio put, "Our Capitaine commaunded, that every one shoulde devoutly prepare himselfe to prayer, and in remembraunce of Christ, caused his Image to be sette up upon a tree," etc.

¹⁰ The seven Psalms were Nos. VI, XXXI, XXXVII, L, CI, CXXIX and CXLII in the Vulgate, (*Le livre d'heures d'Anne de Bretagne*, 185-202), but VI, XXXII, XXXVIII, LI, CII, CXXX and CXLIII in the Protestant versions.

¹¹ The Litany of all the Saints comes immediately after these psalms in the *Livre d'heures d'Anne de Bretagne*, 203-221. Cf. Grant's *Lescarbot*, II, 150.

¹² Florio has, "praying moste hartily, that it woulde please the said our Christ to have compassion upon us."

à Rocquemado¹³, proumectant y aller, si Dieu luy donnoyt grace de retourner en France. Celluy jour trespassa Philippes Rougemont, natif d'Amboise¹⁴, de l'aige de envyron vingt [deux] ans.

Et pource que ladicte maladie estoit incongnue, fist le cappitaine ouvryr le corps, pour veoyr si aurions aucune congnoissance d'icelle, pour preserver, si possible estoit, le parsus⁸. Et fut trouvé qu'il avoyt le cueur tout blanc et flety, envyronné de plus d'un pot d'eaue¹⁵, rousse comme datte; le foye, beau; mays | ayoyt le poulmon tout noircy et mortiffy; et s'estoit retiré tout son sang au dessus de son^t cueur; car, quant il fut ouvert, sortit au dessus du^u cueur vne grand habundance de sang, noyr et

⁸ C has, *ladicie*.

⁸ P has, *celebrée*.

⁸ Ramusio has, *della compagna*.

^t C has, *du*.

^u C has, *de son*.

Lady of Rocamadour¹³, if God would allow him to return to France in safety. On that day there died Phillip Rougemont, aged some twenty-two years, a native of Amboise¹⁴.

And because the disease was a strange one, the Captain had the body opened to see if anything could be found out about it, and the rest, if possible, cured. And it was discovered that his heart was completely white and shrivelled up, with more than a jugfull¹⁵ of red date-coloured water about it. His liver was in good condition but his lungs were very black and gangrened; and all his blood had collected over his heart; for when the body was opened, a large quantity of dark, tainted blood issued from above

¹³ Rocamadour near Gamat in the department of the Lot. See plate XIII, p. 208. It was one of the most famous sanctuaries of the later Middle Ages, from 1166 onwards. It was even the theme of the *jongleurs*.

"La douce mère au Creatour
As église Rochemadour
Fait tant miracles, tant biaux fais
C'uns moult biax livres en est fais," etc.

It was sacked by the Huguenots in 1572 when over 1,500 quintals of gold and silver were taken away. *Vid.* G. Servois, *Notice et extraits du recueil des miracles de Nostre-Dame de Roc-Amadour*, in the *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes*, 4^{me} série, III, 21-44 and 228-245, Paris, 1857. *Cf.* also Lescarbot, *op. cit.*, 1609, 396.

¹⁴ On the Loire near Tours.

¹⁵ Ramusio has, *piu d'un locale* whence Florio's, "more than a pottle of red water." Hakluyt has, "more than ■ quart." A pottle was two quarts.

infect. Pareillement avoyt la ratte, par devers l'eschine, vng peu entamée, envyron deulx doïdz, comme si elle eust esté frottée sus vne pierre rudde. Après cela veu, luy fut ouvert et incizé vne cuisse, laquelle estoit fort noire par dehors, mais par dedans, la chair fut trouvée assez belle. Ce faict, fut inhumé au moings mal^v que l'on peult. Dieu, par Sa sainte grace, pardoint à son ame, et à tous trespassez; Amen.

Et depuis, de jour en aultre, s'est^w tellement continué[e] ladicte maladie, que telle heure a esté, que, par tous^x lesdictz troys navires¹⁶, n'y avoyt pas troys hommes sains^y, de sorte |
 46^v que en l'un desdictz navires n'y avoyt homme qui eust peu descendre soubz le tillat pour tirer à boyre, tant pour luy que pour les aultres^z. Et pour l'heure, y en avoyt ja plusieurs de mors, lesquelz il nous convynt meptre, par feblesse, soubz les naiges; car il ne nous estoit possible de pouvoyr, pour lors, ouvrir la terre, qui estoit gellée, tant estions foibles et avyons peu de puissance. Et si estions en vne craincte merveilleuse des gens du pays, qu'ilz ne s'aperceussent de nostre pitié et foiblesse. Et pour couvrir ladicte maladie, lors qu'ilz venoyent près de nostre fort,

^v P has, *à mieulx*. ^w From A and P. B and C have, *c'est*.

^x From P. A, B and C have, *tout*. ^y A has, *sainctz*.

^z P has, *pour son compaignon*.

the heart. His spleen for some two finger breadths near the backbone was also slightly affected, as if it had been rubbed on a rough stone. After seeing this much, we made an incision and cut open one of his thighs, which on the outside was very black, but within the flesh was found fairly healthy. Thereupon we buried him as well as we could. May God in His holy grace grant forgiveness to his soul and to those of all the dead. Amen.

After this the disease increased daily to such an extent that at one time, out of the three¹⁶ vessels, there were not three men in good health, so that on board one of the ships, there was no one to go down under the quarter-deck to draw water for himself and the rest. And already several had died, whom from sheer weakness, we had to bury beneath the snow; for at that season the ground was frozen and we could not dig into it, so feeble and helpless were we. We were also in great dread of the people of the country, lest they should become aware of our plight and helplessness.

¹⁶ Cf. p. 205, note 8.

PLATE XIII.



Rocamadour.

nostre cappitaine, que Dieu a tousiours preservé debout, sortoyt audavant d'eulx, avecq deulx ou troys hommes, tant sains que malades, lesquelz il faisoit sortyr après luy. Et lors qu'il les voyoit^a | hors du parc^b, faisoit semblant les voulloyr battre, en^c 47^e criant et leur gectant bastons après eulx, les envoyant à bort, monstrant par signes esdictz sauvaiges, qu'il faisoit besongner [tous] ses gens dedans les navires, les vngs à gallifester, les aultres à faire du pain, et aultres besongnes; et qu'il n'estoit pas bon qu'ilz vinssent chommer^d dehors; ce qu'ilz croyoient^e. Et faisoit ledict cappitaine battre et mene[r]^f bruyt esdictz malades dedans les navires, avecq bastons et cailloudz, faignans gallifester. Et pour lors, estions si esprins de ladicte maladie, que avyons quasi perdu l'espérance de jamais retourner en France, si Dieu, par sa bonté infinye et misericorde, ne nous eust regardé en pitié, et donné congnoissance d'un remède contre toutes maladies, le plus exellant qui fut jamays veu, ny trouvé sus la terre, ainsi qu'il sera faict mention en ce^g chappitre. |

^a From P and C. A has, *veoit* and B, *veoyt*.

^b P has, *fort*. ^c From P and C. A and B have, *et*.

^d A has, *homuer*; P, *donner*. ^e P has, *croyent*.

^f From A, P and C. ^g From A, P and C. B has, *se*.

And to hide the sickness, our Captain, whom God kept continually in good health, whenever they came near the fort, would go out and meet them with two or three men, either sick or well, whom he ordered to follow him outside. When these were beyond the enclosure, he would pretend to try to beat them, and vociferating and throwing sticks at them, would drive them back on board the ships, indicating to the Indians by signs, that he was making all his men work below the decks, some at calking, others at baking bread and at other tasks; and that it would not do to have them come and loaf outside. This the Indians believed. And the Captain had the sick men hammer and make a noise inside the ships with sticks and stones, pretending that they were calking. At that time so many were down with the disease, that we had almost lost hope of ever returning to France, when God in His infinite goodness and mercy had pity upon us and made known to us the most excellent remedy against all diseases that ever has been seen or heard of in the whole world, as will be set forth in this [second] chapter [following].

47^v LE NOMBRE DU TEMPS QUE NOUS AVONS ESTÉ AU
HABLE SAINCTE CROIX, ENGLASSEZ^h DEDANS LES
GLACES ET NAIGES; ET LE NOMBRE DES GENS
DECEDDEZ DESPUIS LE COMMANCEMENT DE LAⁱ
MALADIE JUSQUES À LA MY MARS¹⁷.

Despuis la my novembre jusques au XV^{me} jour d'apvril,
avons esté continuellement enfermez dedans les glaces, lesquelles
avoient plus de deux brasses d'espesseur, et dessus la terre, y avoit
la haulteur de quatre piedz de naiges et plus, tellement qu'elle
48^v estoyt plus haulte que les bors de noz | navires; lesquelles ont
duré jusques audict temps, en sorte que noz breuvaiges estoient
tous gellez dedans les fustailles. Et par dedans nosdictes navires,
tant [de] bas que [de] hault, estoit la glace contre les bors, à quatre
doidz d'espesseur¹⁸. Et estoit tout ledict fleuve, par aultant

^h P has, & places.

ⁱ C has, *ladicte*.

THE LENGTH OF TIME WE REMAINED IN STE.
CROIX HARBOUR FROZEN UP IN THE ICE AND
SNOW; AND THE NUMBER OF MEN WHO DIED OF
THE PESTILENCE FROM THE TIME IT BEGAN UNTIL
THE MIDDLE OF MARCH¹⁷.

From the middle of November [1535] until [Saturday] the
fifteenth of April [1536], we lay frozen up in the ice, which was
more than two fathoms in thickness, while on shore there were
more than four feet of snow, so that it was higher than the bul-
warks of our ships. This lasted until the date mentioned above,
with the result that all our beverages froze in their casks. And
all about the decks of the ships, below hatches and above, there
was ice to the depth of four finger breadths¹⁸. And the whole
river [St. Lawrence] was frozen where the water was fresh up to
beyond Hochelaga¹⁹. During this period there died to the

¹⁷ From the context it should evidently be April.

¹⁸ Florio has, "above ■ hande-breadth thicke."

¹⁹ Cf. Bayfield, *op. cit.*, I, 310: "The river seldom, if ever, freezes across below Quebec, but is almost filled with ice that fluctuates with wind and tide from shore to shore"; *ibid.*, 8-9; *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, V, 184 and p. 199 *supra*, note 85.

que l'eau douce en contientⁱ, jusques au dessus de^k Hochelaga, gellé¹⁹. Auquel temps^l nous decedda jusques au nombre de vingt cinq personne[s]^m des principaulx et bons compaignons que [nous] eussions, lesquelz mouroient de la maladie susdicte. Et pour l'heure, y en avoyt plus de quarenteⁿ en quy on n'esperoit plus de vye; et le parsus tous malades, que nul n'en estoit exempté, excepté troys ou quatre²⁰. Mays Dieu, par Sa sainte grace, nous regarda en pitié²¹, et nous envoya [la]* congnoissance et remede de nostre garison et santé, de la sorte et manyère qu'il sera dict^o en ce chappitre ensuyvant. |

ⁱ P has, *contenoit*.

^k P has, *dudict*.

^l P has, *Durant lequel temps*.

^m From A and P.

ⁿ P has, *cinquante*.

^o P has, *devisé*; C, *divisé*.

number of twenty-five of the best and most able seamen we had, who all succumbed to the aforesaid malady. And at that time there was little hope of saving more than forty others, while the whole of the rest were ill, except three or four²⁰. But God in His divine grace had pity upon us²¹, and sent us knowledge of a remedy which cured and healed all in the manner that will be told in this next chapter.

²⁰ Florio has, "and all the rest were so sicke, that wee thought they shoulde never recover agayne."

²¹ Florio following Ramusio has, "cast his pitifull eye upon us"

48^v

COMMENT, PAR LA GRACE DE DIEU, NOUS EUS-
MES CONGNOISSANCE D'VNE SORTE D'ARBRE,^p PAR
LEQUEL NOUS AVONS ESTÉ GARIZ; ET ONT RECOU-
VERT TOUS LES MALADES SANTÉ, APRÈS EN AVOYR
VSÉ; ET LA FAÇON D'EN VSER.

Vng jour nostre cappitaine, voyant la maladie si esmue et ses
gens si fort esprins d'icelle²², estant sorty hors du fort^a, et soy
promenant sus la glace, appersut venyr vne bande de gens de
Stadaconé, en^r laquelle estoit dom Agaya, lequel le cappitaine
avoyt veu dix ou douze jours auparavant^s fort malade, de la
49^r propre^t maladie que avoyent | ses gens; car il avoyt l'vne des

^p P and C have, *de la sorte d'vng arbre*.

^a C has, *parc*.

^r C has, *à*.

^s From P. A and B have, *despuis dix ou douze jours*; C, *puy dix ou douze jours*.

^t P has, *de ladicté*.

HOW BY GOD'S GRACE WE RECEIVED KNOWLEDGE
OF A TREE WHICH CURED US AND GAVE BACK
HEALTH TO ALL THE SICK; AND THE MANNER OF
USING IT.

One day our Captain, seeing the disease so general and his men so stricken down by it²², on going outside the fort to walk up and down on the ice, caught sight of a band of Indians approaching from Stadacona, and among them was Dom Agaya whom he had seen ten or twelve days previous to this, extremely ill with the very disease his own men were suffering from; for one of his legs about the knee had swollen to the size of a two-year-old baby, and the sinews had become contracted. His teeth had gone bad and decayed, and the gums had rotted and become tainted. The Captain, seeing Dom Agaya well and in good health, was delighted, hoping to learn what had healed him, in order to cure his own men. And when the Indians had come near the fort, the Captain inquired of him [Dom Agaya], what had cured him of his sickness. Dom Agaya replied that he had been healed by the juice of the leaves

²² Ramusio has, *essendo la detta malattia tanto accesa, cresciuta & irritata*, whence Florio's, "and how that sicknesse was encreased and hote amongst us."

jambes, par le genoil, aussi grosse que vng enfant de deux ans, et tous les nerfz d'icelle retirez, les dentz perdues et gastées, et les gencives pourries et infectes. Le cappitaine, voyant ledict dom Agaya sain et deliberé^u, fut joieux, espérant par luy sçavoir, comme il s'estoit guery, affin de donner aide^v et secours à ses gens. Et lors qu'ilz furent arrivez près le fort, le cappitaine luy demanda comme il s'estoit guery de sa maladie. Lequel dom Agaya respondit, que avecq le juz des feulhes d'un arbre et le marq^{w23}, il s'estoit guery, et que c'estoit le singulier remede pour maladie. Lors le^x cappitaine luy demanda s'il y en avoyt point là entour, et qu'il luy en monstrast, pour guerir^y son ser-

^u From P and C. A and B have, *guery* which however is again used on the next line.

^v P has, *ordre*.

^w P has, *qu'il avoit le ius & le marcq des fueilles d'ung arbre dont il s'estoit guary*; C, *que avecq le juz et le marcq des feulhes d'un arbre, il s'estoit guery*.

^x P has, *ledict*.

^y From A. B and C have, *guery*; P, *guarir*.

of a tree and the dregs²³ of these, and that this was the only way to cure sickness. Upon this the Captain asked him if there was not some of it thereabouts, and to show it to him that he might heal his servant who had caught the disease when staying in Chief Donnacona's wigwam at Canada, being unwilling that he should know how many sailors were ill. Thereupon Dom Agaya sent two squaws with our Captain to gather some of it; and they brought back nine or ten branches. They showed us how to grind the bark and the leaves and to boil the whole in water. Of this one should drink every two days, and place the dregs on the legs where they were swollen and affected. According to them this tree cured every kind of disease. They call it in their language *Annedda*²⁴.

²³ Cf. Littré, *Dictionnaire de la langue française*, III, Paris, 1874, 438: "Marc, résidu de fruits, d'herbes ou de toute autre substance qu'on a pressurée ou fait bouillir pour en retirer le suc."

²⁴ Hakluyt (*op. cit.*, III, p. 227) has added: "or *Hanneda*, this is thought to be the Sassafras tree." It seems to have been the hemlock. Cf. Morgan, *op. cit.*, I, 321: "A favorite beverage was made from the tips of hemlock boughs boiled in water, and seasoned with maple sugar." The Seneca word is *O-neh-da* and in Mokawk *O-no-da*. (*Ibid.*, II, 252, note 90). The Wyandot word for white pine is *Handehta* and the Mokawk *Ohnehda*. Mr. Waugh tells me that the Onondaga and Cayuga word for evergreen is *unénda* which is considered a cure for boils and venereal diseases. See also his *Iroquois Foods*, 147.

viteur, qui avoyt prins ladicte maladie [audict Canada durant qu'il demouroit] en la maison du seigneur^a Donnacona, ne luy voulant^a déclarer le nombre des compaignons, qui estoient malades. Lors ledict dom Agaya envoya deulx femmes avecq nostre^b 49^v cappitaine, pour en | querir, lesquelz en apportèrent neuf ou dix rameaulx; et nous monstrèrent, qu'il^c failloyt piller^d l'escorce et les feulhes dudict boys, et meptre le tout [à] boullyr en eaue; puy boyre de ladicte eaue^e, de deux jours l'un; et meptre le marc sus les jambes enflées et malades; et que de toutes maladies ledict arbre garissoit. Ilz appellent ledict arbre en leur langaige, *annedda*^{f 24}.

Tost après, le cappitaine fict faire du breuvaige, pour faire boire es malades, desquelz n'y avoyt nul d'eulx qui voullust icelluy essayer^g, sinon vng ou deulx, qui se myrent en adventure d'icelluy essayer. Tout incontinent^h qu'ilz en eurent beu, ilz eurent l'ad-

^a P and C have, *qu'il demouroit avec Donnacona*.

^a From P. A, B and C have *voullut*.

^b C has, *le*.

^c C has, *comment il*.

^d P has, *peller*.

^e P and C have, *puis en boire*.

^f P has, *Ameda*.

^g P has, *qui voulsist essayer ledict bruvage*.

^h From P. A, B and C have again, *Tost après*, etc.

The Captain at once ordered a drink to be prepared for the sick men but none of them would taste it. At length one or two thought they would risk a trial²⁵. As soon as they had drunk it, they felt better which must clearly be ascribed to miraculous causes; for after drinking it two or three times, they recovered health and strength and were cured of all the diseases they had ever had. And some of the sailors who had been suffering for five or six years from the French pox were by this medecine cured completely. When this became known, there was such a press for the medecine that they almost killed each other to have it first; so that in less than eight days a whole tree as large and as tall as any I ever saw was used up, and produced such a result,

²⁵ Florio has, "excepte one or two, who ventured the drinking of it onely to taste and prove it: the other seeyng that did the like," etc.

vantaige, qui se trouva estre vng vray et evident miracle; car de toutes maladies de quoy ilz estoient entachez, après en ayoyr | beu deux ou troys foys, recouvrèrent santé et guarizon, tellement ^{50°} que tel [y avoyt] des[dictz] compaignons, qui avoytⁱ la [grosse] verolle puis cinq ou six ans auparavant la[dicte] maladie, a esté, par icelle médecine, curé nectement. Après ce avoyr veu [et congneu], y a eu telle presse, que on se vouloit tuer sus ladicte médecine^j, à qui premier en auoyt; de sorte que vng arbre, aussi groz et aussi grand que je vidz jamais arbre^k, a esté employé en moins de huict^l jours, lequel a faict telle oppération, que si tous les médecins de Louvain²⁶ et [de] Montpellier²⁷ y eussent esté, avecques toutes les drogues d'Alexandrie²⁸, ilz n'en (n')eussent pas tant faict en vng an que ledict arbre a faict en huict^m jours; car il nous a tellement prouffité, que tous ceulx qui en ont voulu vser, ont recouvert santé et garizon, la grace à Dieu. |

ⁱ A has, *avoient*.

^j C has, *telle presse sus ladicte medecine que on*, etc. while P has the same though the word *sus* is omitted.

^k P has, *aussi grand que chesne qui soit en France*.

^l P has, *en six iours*.

^m P and C have, *six*.

that had all the doctors of Louvain²⁶ and Montpellier²⁷ been there, with all the drugs of Alexandria²⁸, they could not have done so much in a year as did this tree in eight days; for it benefited us so much that all who were willing to use it, recovered health and strength, thanks be to God.

²⁶ The University of Louvain in Brabant, which was founded in 1426 by John, Fourth Duke of Brabant, had eight professors on the medical faculty. *Vid.* Mgr. A. J. Namèche, *Jean IV et la fondation de l'université de Louvain*, Louvain, 1838.

²⁷ *Cf.* Rabelais, *op. cit.*, I, 334-35: "Puis vint à Montpellier, où il trouva fort bons vins de Mirevaulx, et joyeuse compaignie; et se cuida mettre à estudier en medecine: mais il considera que l'estat estoit fascheux par trop, et melancholique, et que les medecins sentoient les clysteres comme vieux diables." On the medical faculty of Montpellier which seems to have been established early in the Middle Ages, *vid.* A. Germain, *L'Ecole de médecine de Montpellier, ses origines, sa constitution, son enseignement*, etc., Montpellier, 1880 in 4°.

²⁸ *Vid.*, Alfred Spont, *Samblancy*, 4, Paris, 1895, and his *La Marine française sous le regne de Charles VIII*, 69, Paris, 1894. *Cf.* also Biggar *Precursors of Cartier*, 20-21, Ottawa, 1911.

50^v

COMMENT LE SEIGNEUR DONNACONA, ACOM-
PAIGNÉ DE TAIGNOAGNY ET PLUSIEURS AULTRES,
PARTIRENT DE STADACONÉ, FAIGNANS ALLER À LA
CHASSE AU[x] SERFZ ET AUX DYNs; LESQUELZ
FURENT DEUX MOYS SANS RETOURNER; ET À LEUR
RETOUR AMENÈRENT GRAND NOMBRE DE GENS,
QUE N'AVYONS ACOUSTUMÉ DE VEOYR.

Durant le temps que la maladie et mortalité regnoit en noz navires, se partirent Donnacona, Taignoagnyⁿ et plusieurs aultres, faignans aller prandre des serfz et aultres bestes^{o 29}, lesquelz ilz nomment en leur langaige *ajounesta*^p et *asquenondo*^{q 30}, pource

ⁿ A has, *Taignoaigny*. ^o P has, *Cerfs & Dains*; C, *serfz et dins*.

^p Such is the spelling in P. Lescarbot has read, *ajonneesta* while Ternaux-Compans gives, *ajouvesta*. The Quebec edition has, *Asjannesta*; C has here, *joumesta* or *jouniesta*.

^q P has, *asquenoudo* in which he has been followed by Lescarbot and Fari-bault. Ternaux-Compans gives, *asqueurudo*. C has, *asquemindo*. See note 31.

HOW CHIEF DONNACONA, ACCOMPANIED BY TAI-
GNOAGNY AND SEVERAL OTHERS, SET OFF FROM
STADACONA ON A DEER HUNT, AND REMAINED
AWAY TWO MONTHS; AND HOW ON THEIR RETURN,
THEY BROUGHT WITH THEM A NUMBER OF
INDIANS WHOM WE HAD NOT HITHERTO SEEN.

During the time that sickness and death were holding sway on board our ships, Donnacona, Taignoagny and several others set off, pretending to be going to hunt stags and other animals²⁹,

²⁹ Cf. Thevet, *op. cit.*, 403-404: "Aussi sont ils grands veneurs . . . Ils usent d'une maniere de raquettes tissues de cordes en façon de crible, de deux piés et demy de long, et un pié de large . . . Pour prendre ces bestes [i.e. cerfs] ils s'assembleront dix ou douze armés de longues lances ou piques, grandes de quinze à seze pieds, garnies par le bout de quelque os de cerf ou autre beste, d'un pié de long ou plus, au lieu de fer, portans arcs et fleches garnies de mesme: puis par les neiges qui leur sont familières toute l'année, suyans les cerfs au trac par lesdites neiges assez profondes, descouurent la voye, laquelle estant ainsi decouverte, vous y planteront branches de cedre, qui verdoyent en tout temps, et ce en forme de rets, sous lesquelles ils se cachent armez en ceste maniere. Et incontinent que le cerf attiré pour le plaisir de ceste verdure et chemin frayé s'y achemine, ils se iettent dessus à coups de piques et de fleches, tellement qu'ils le contraindront de quitter la voye, et entrer es profondes neiges, voire iusques au ventre, où ne pouuant aisément cheminer, est atteint de coups iusques à la mort. Il sera ecorché sur le champ, et mis en pieces, l'envelopperont

que les naiges estoient grandes, et que les glaces estoient ja rompues dedans le cours du ^r fleuve, tellement qu'ilz pouvoient naviguer par icelluy. Et nous fut, par | dom Agaya et aultres, dict qu'ilz ⁵¹ ne seroient que [environ] quinze jours; ce que croyons; mayz ilz furent deux moys sans retourner. Au moyen de quoy, eusmes suspicion qu'ilz ne feussent allez amasser grand nombre de gens, pour nous faire desplaisir³¹, pource qu'ilz nous veoyoient si affebliz³²; non obstant que avyons mys si bonne^a ordre en^t nostre faict, que si toute la puissance de leur terre y eust esté, ilz n'eussent sceu faire aultre chose que nous regarder. Et pendent le temps qu'ilz estoient dehors, venoyent, tous les jours, force gens à noz navires, comme ilz avoyent de coustume, nous apportant de la chair fresche de serfz et de dins, et poisson^u fraiz, de toutes sortes, qu'ilz^v nous vendoient assez^w cher, ou [autrement] mieulx l'aymoient remporter, pource qu'ilz avoyent nécessité de vivres pour lors, à cause de l'yver, qui avoyt esté long; et qu'ilz avoyent mengé leurs vivres et estouremens. |

^a C has, *dudict*. ^b P has, *bon* but A, B and C as in text. ^t P has, *d*.

^u C has, *poissons*. ^v P has, *lesquelz*. ^w P and C have, *fort*.

which in their language they call *Ajounesta* and *Asquenondo*³⁰, as the snow was deep and yet they could paddle along the river [St. Lawrence] where the ice had broken up. Dom Agaya and the others told us that they [Donnacona, etc.] would be gone about a fortnight, which we believed, but they did not return for two months. At this we became suspicious lest they should be gone to collect a large force of Indians to attack us³¹, when they saw we were so weak³²; although we had put everything in such good order, that had the whole of the armed forces of their country come against us, they would have been able to do nothing but gaze at us. Meanwhile every day there came to our ships as usual a considerable number of Indians with fresh meat, venison and all varieties of fresh fish, which they bartered for a good price or otherwise preferred to carry them away again; for they were themselves in need of provisions on account of the winter having been a long one, during which they had consumed their provisions and supplies.

en sa peau, et traineront par les neiges iusques en leurs maisons. Et ainsi les apportoyent iusques au fort des François, chair et peau, mais pour autre chose en recompense, c'est a sçavoir quelques petits ferremens et autres choses."

³⁰ The Mohawk word is *Oskoneantea*. Vid. Schoolcraft, *op. cit.*, 267, No. 156.

³¹ Florio has, "to raise the country to come againste us."

³² Ramusio has, *demessi & debilitati*, whence Florio's, "so weake and faint."

51^r

COMMENT DONNACONA REVYNT À STADACONÉ, ACCOMPAGNÉ DE [■] GRAND NOMBRE DE GENS; ET FIST LEDICT DONNACONA LE^y MALADE, DE PEUR DE VENYR VEOYR LE CAPPITAINE, CUYDANT QUE LEDICT CAPPITAINE ALLAST LE VEOYR^z.

Le XXI^m jour du^a moys d'apvril, dom Agaya vint à bort de noz navires, acompaigné de plusieurs gens, lesquelz estoient beaulx et puissans, et n'avions acoustumé de les veoyr, qui nous dirent^b, que le seigneur Donnacona seroit le landemain venu, et qu'il apporteroit force chair de serfz et aultre venaison. Et le landemain, XXII^e jour dudict moys, arryva^c ledict Donnacona, lequel amena en sa compaignye grand nombre de gens audict Stadaconé, ne sçavyons à quelle occasion, ny pourquoy. Mays | 52^r comme on dict en vng prouverbe^d, *qui de tout se garde et d'aulcuns eschappe*³³, ce que nous estoit de nécessité; car nous estions si af-

^z P and C have, *avec*.^y P has, *du*.^a P has, *allast vers luy*; C, *le allast veoyr*.^a P has, *dudict*.^b P has, *lesquelz dient*; C, *lesquelz nous dirent*.^c P has, *vint*.^d P has, *Mais m dict à vng proverbe*.

HOW DONNACONA CAME BACK TO STADACONA WITH A LARGE NUMBER OF INDIANS, AND FEIGNED TO BE ILL, BECAUSE HE WAS AFRAID TO COME AND SEE THE CAPTAIN, THINKING THE LATTER WOULD GO AND VISIT HIM.

On [Friday] April 21, Dom Agaya came on board our vessels with several fine-looking, powerful Indians whom we had not been in the habit of seeing, and told us that Chief Donnacona would be back on the following day and would bring with him a quantity of deer's meat and other venison. And the next day, the twenty-second of the month, Donnacona did arrive at Stadacona accompanied—why or for what purpose we did not know—by a great number of Indians. But as the proverb says, "He who is on his guard against everything, escapes something"³³ which with us was a case of necessity, so weakened were we by the disease and by the men we had lost, that we were obliged to leave one

³³ Florio has, "he that takes heede and shields himselfe from all men, maye happe to scape from some."

febliz^e, tant de maladie que de gens mors, qu'il nous a faillu laisser vng de noz navires audict lieu de sainte Croix³⁴. Le cappitaine, estant adverty de leur venue, et qu'ilz avoyent amené tant de peuple^f, et aussi que dom Agaya le vint dire audict cappitaine, sans voulloir passe[r]^g la ripvière³⁵ qui estoit entre nous et ledict Stadaconé^h, ains fict difficulté de passer, ce que n'avoyt acoustumé de faire, au moyen de quoy eusmes suspicion de traisonⁱ. Voyant ce, le cappitaine envoya son serviteur, nommé Charles Guyot, [accompaigné de Jehan Poulllet], le[s]quel[z] estoi[en]t, plus que nul[z] aultre[s], aime[z] du[dict] peuple de tout le pays, pour veoyr qui^j estoit audict lieu, et qu'ilz faisoient, faignans^k

^e Such is the original spelling. A later hand has put, *affoibliz* which is also the spelling in A, P and C.

^f P and C have, *gens*.

^g From A and P.

^h This word is printed here in P for the first and only time with an acute accent i.e. *Stadaconé*. This instance was doubtless Lescarbot's authority for printing it always thus.

ⁱ P has, *qui nous donna double de trahison*.

^j P has, *que*. ^k From P. A, B and C have, *faignant*.

of our ships at Ste. Croix³⁴. The Captain, being informed how on their return they had brought back so many Indians, and how Dom Agaya, on coming to tell us of this, had been unwilling to cross the river lying between us and Stadacona³⁵, and had refused to come over, a thing he was not in the habit of doing, became suspicious of treason, as did the rest of us. And in view of this, the Captain sent his servant, named Charles Guyot, accompanied by John Poulllet, who were greater favourites with the Indians of that region than any of the others, to find out who was in the village and what the Indians were doing, pretending they had come

³⁴ In 1843, the year in which the Quebec edition of Cartier's voyages appeared, the hull of an old vessel was found at the mouth of the St. Michel which flows into the St. Charles, a little above the Lairer where Cartier passed the winter. This hull was forthwith declared to be the *Petite-Hermine* and half of the relics now figure as such in the Museum of St. Malo. Dr. Dionne has clearly proved that this wreck was not Cartier's vessel. *Vid. La "Petite Hermine" de Jacques-Cartier*, etc., 13 *et seq.*; and p. 205, note 8, and p. 208 *supra*. That Cartier left the *Petite-Ermine* and not the *Emérillon*, is made clear from the subsequent mention of the latter in Cartier's commission of 17 October, 1540.

³⁵ The St. Charles.

le[s]dict[z] Poulliet et] serviteur, estre allé veoyr ledict seigneur Donnacona, parce qu'il[z] avoy[en]t demouré lon[g]¹ temps avecq
 52^v luy | [à leur ville], le[s]quel[z] luy portèrent^m aucun [petit] présent³⁶. Et lors que ledict Donnacona fut adverty de leurⁿ venue, fit le malade et se coucha, disant audict serviteur qu'il estoit fort malade. Après, alla^o ledict serviteur en la maison de Taignoagny, pour le veoyr, où par tout trouva^p les maisons si plaines de gens, que on ne s'i pouvoyt tourne[r]^q, lesquelz on n'avoyt accoustumé de veoyr. Et ne voullut permettre ledict Taignoagny, que ledict serviteur allast es aultres maisons; ains le[s] convoya vers les navires envyron la moictyé du chemin. Et leur^r dist, que si le cappitaine luy vouloyt faire [ce] plaisir de prandre vng seigneur du pays, nommé Agona^{s 37}, lequell luy avoyt faict desplaisir, et

¹ From A. P has, *parce qu'ilz avoient esté longuement avec luy à leur ville.*

^m From P. A, B and C have, *porta.*

ⁿ From P. A, B and C have, *sa.*

^o P has, *allèrent en la maison*, etc; C, *alla ledict Charles en la maison*, etc.

^p P has, *trouverent.*

^q From A and C. P has, *remuer.*

^r From P. A, B and C have, *luy.*

^s P and C have, *Agonna.*

to see Chief Donnacona; for they had passed a long time in the village with him; and they brought him a small present³⁶. And on being informed of their arrival, Donnacona played the sick man and went to bed, telling the servant [Guyot] that he was very ill. After this the servant went to Taignoagny's wigwam to pay him a call, and everywhere found the wigwams so full of Indians, whom he had not been in the habit of seeing, that one could not turn around inside them. Taignoagny would not allow the servant to visit the other wigwams, but accompanied them almost half-way to the ships. And he informed them that if the Captain would do him a good turn and would seize a chief of that region named Agona³⁷, who had slighted him [Taignoagny] and would carry him [Agona] off to France, that he [Taignoagny] would be in the Captain's debt and would do anything he asked; and that on the morrow the servant should return with the captain's answer.

The Captain, on being informed of the large number of Indians at Stadacona, though unaware of their purpose, yet determined

³⁶ Probably on Friday, April 28.

³⁷ *Vid. p. 252 infra.*

l'emmener en France, qu'il [seroit tenu à luy, et] feroit tout ce que vouldroit ledict cappitaine, et qu'il [ledict serviteur] retournast le landemain luy dire la responce. |

Quant le cappitaine fut adverty du grand nombre de gens ⁵³ qui estoient audict Stadaconé^t, ne sçavoyt à quelle fin, se deslibera leur jouer finesse³⁸, et prandre leur seigneur, Taignoagny^u, dom Agaya et des principaulx. Et aussi qu'il estoit bien deslibéré de mener ledict seigneur Donnacona en France, pour compter et dire au Roy³⁹ ce qu'il avoyt veu es pays occidentaulx des merveilles du monde; car il nous a certiffié avoyr esté à la terre du Saguenay, où^v il y a infiny or, rubiz et aultres richesses, et y sont les hommes blancs, comme en France, et acoustrez de draps de laine. Plus, dict avoyr veu aultre pays, où les gens ne mengent point, et n'ont point de fondement, et ne digèrent point; ains font seullement eaue par la verge. Plus, dict avoyr esté en aultre pays de Picquenyans^{w40}, et aultre pays où les gens n'ont que

Nota.

^t C has, *audict lieu*. ^u A has, *Taignoagny*. ^v P has, *en laquelle*.

^w P has, *Picquemyans*. Lescarbot has read, *Picqueniaus* and Ternaux-Compans, *Picquevyons*. Faribault gives, *Piquemains*.

to outwit them³⁸, and to seize their Chief [Donnacona], Taignoagny, Dom Agaya and the headmen. And moreover he had quite made up his mind to take Chief Donnacona to France, that he might relate and tell to the king³⁹ all he had seen in the west of the wonders of the world; for he assured us that he had been to the land of the Saguenay where there are immense quantities of gold, rubies and other rich things, and that the men there are white as in France and go clothed in woollens. He told us also that he had visited another region where the people, possessing no anus, never eat nor digest, but simply make water through the penis. He told us furthermore that he had been in the land of the Picquenyans⁴⁰, and to another country whose

³⁸ Florio has, "purposed to playe a pretty prancke."

³⁹ Francis I. Cf. pp. 170 and 201 *supra*.

⁴⁰ The Desceliers planisphere has a representation of these pigmies with the following legend: "Pigmeons, Cy dessus est la demonstacion d'vng peuple nommé pigmeons, gens de petite stature comme d'vne c ldee. Au troysiesme an ilz engendrent, et au 8^e ilz meurent non ayans devant es yeulx honte, justice ou honnesteté. Pour ceste cause sont dictz brutes, non hommes. On tient qu'ilz ont guerre continuelle contre les oyseaux nommés grues." Cf. Peter

vne jambe, et aultres merveilles, longues à racompter⁴¹. Ledict
 53^v seigneur est homme ancien, et ne cessa jamays d'aller | par pays
 depuis sa congnoissance, tant par fleuves, ripvières, que par terre.

Après que le[s]dict[z Poullet et] serviteur eu[ren]t faict leur^x
 message⁴² et dict au cappitaine^y, ce que ledict Taignoagny luy
 mandoit, renvoya le^x cappitaine sondict serviteur, le landemain⁴³,
 dire audict Taignoagny, qu'il le vint veoyr, et luy dire, ce qu'il
 voudroit^a, et qu'il luy feroyt bonne chère et partye de son voul-
 loyr. Ledict Taignoagny luy manda, qu'il viendrait le lande-
 main, et qu'il [ad]meneroyt [le seigneur] Donnacona et ledict

^x From P. A, B and C have, *son*.

^y From P. A, B and C have, *à son maistre*.

^a P has, *ledict*.

^a P has, *vouloit*.

inhabitants have only one leg, and other marvels too long to relate⁴¹.
 This chief is an old man who has never ceased travelling about the
 country by river, stream and trail since his earliest recollection.

When Poullet and the servant had delivered their message⁴²
 and told the Captain what Taignoagny had asked them to say,
 the Captain on the morrow⁴³ sent back his servant to tell Taignoa-

Jones, *op. cit.*, 156: "The heathen Indians all believe in the existence of those
 imaginary little folks called Fairies . . . They believe them to be invisible, but
 possessed of the power of showing themselves. Many old Indians affirm that
 they have both seen and talked with them. They say that they are about two
 or three feet high, walk erect, and have the human form, but that their faces
 are covered over with short hair." *Vid.* also Strabo's *Geography* lib. XV, cap. I,
 57; Pliny's *Natural History*, lib. VI, 22 and 35: and *cf.* Lescarbot, *op. cit.*,
 1609, p. 429: "Pour le regard des Pygmées, ie sçay par le rapport que plusieurs
 m'ont fait, que les Sauvages de la grande riviere disent qu'ès montaignes des
 Iroquois il y a des petits hommes fort vaillans, lesquels les Sauvages plus Orien-
 taux redoutent & ne leur osent faire la guerre"; and *ibid.* 714.

⁴¹ *Cf.* Rabelais, *op. cit.*, II, 455-56: "vismes un petit vieillard bossu,
 contrefait et monstrueux, on le nommoit *Ouy dire* . . . Autour de luy je vis
 nombre innumerable d'hommes et de femmes escoutans et attentifs . . . d'entre
 lesquels un pour lors tenoit une mappemonde, et la leur exposoit sommairement
 par petits aphorismes, et y devenoient clerks et savans en peu d'heures, et par-
 loient de prou de choses prodigieuses . . . ; des pyramides du Nil, de Babylone,
 des Troglodites, des Hymantopodes, des Blemmyes, des Pigmées . . . et tout
 par *Ouy dire*. Là je vis . . . Jacques Cartier . . . et ne sçay combien d'autres
 modernes historiens cachés derriere une piece de tapisserie, en tapinois escri-
 vans de belles besongnes, et tout par *Ouy dire*."

⁴² Florio has, "having tolde oure Captayne theyr Embassage."

⁴³ Saturday, April 29.

homme^b, qui luy avoyt faict desplaisir⁴⁴. Ce que ne fist; ains fut deux jours sans venyr, pendant lequel temps ne vint personne es navires dudict Stadaconé, comme avoyent de coustume; mayns nous fuyoient, comme si les eussions voullu tuer. Lors appersumes leur mauvaistié. Et pource qu'ilz furent advertys que ceulx de Sitadin^{c45} alloient et venoyent entour nous; et que leur avyons habandonné | le fons du navire que laissions, pour avoyr le viel cloud⁴⁶, vindrent tous, le tiers jour [ensuyvant⁴⁷] dudict Stadaconé, de l'aulture bort de la ripvière, et passèrent la plus-grand partye d'eulx en petitz bateaulx, sans difficulté. Mays ledict Donnacona n'y voullut passer; et furent Taignoagny et dom Agaya plus d'une heure à parlementer ensemble avant que vouloyr passer, mayns en fin [ilz] passèrent et vindrent parler audict cappi-

^b P has, *celuy*.

^c From C. A and B have, *Stadin* here while P gives, *Sicadin*.

gny to come and see him and let him know what he wished; and that he [Cartier] would treat him well and would perform part of what he asked. Taignoagny sent back word that he would come on the following day, and would bring with him Chief Donnacona and the Indian who had done him the bad turn⁴⁴. But he did not do so and for two days no one from Stadacona came near the ships, as they had been in the habit of doing, but used to flee as if we were trying to kill them. Upon this we became convinced of their knavishness. But on learning that the Indians of Sitadin⁴⁵ came and went among us, and that we had let them have the hull of the vessel we were abandoning, that they might secure the old nails⁴⁶, the people of Stadacona all came on the third day⁴⁷ to the river-bank, and most of them crossed in their canoes without hesitation. But Donnacona would not come over; and Taignoagny and Dom Agaya debated together for more than an hour before they would cross, but in the end they did so, and came and spoke to the Captain. And Taignoagny begged the Captain to consent to seize that Indian⁴⁴ and carry him off to France. This the Captain refused, saying that the

⁴⁴ Agona.

⁴⁵ It doubtless lay on the Beauport shore. *Vid.* p. 196 *supra*.

⁴⁶ Iron would be a great rarity.

⁴⁷ Tuesday, May 2.

taine. Et pria ledict Taignoagny le^d cappitaine voulloyr prendre et emmener ledict homme⁴⁴ en France. Ce que reffusa ledict cappitaine, disant que le Roy, son maistre, luy avoyt deffendu de non emmener homme, ny femme en France, mays bien deulx ou troyz petitz garçons^e, pour apprendre le langaige; mays que vultiers l'emmeneroyt en Terre Neufve, et qu'il le meptroit en vne ysle⁴⁸. Ces parolles disoyt ledict cappitaine pour les asseurer, |
 54^v et à celle fin d'amener ledict [seigneur] Donnacona, lequel estoit demouré delà l'eau. Desquelles parolles fut fort joieulx ledict Taignoagny^f, esperant ne retourner jamais en France, et promist audict cappitaine de retourner le landemain, qui estoit le jour sainte Croix⁴⁹, et amener ledict seigneur Donnacona et tout le peuple dudict Stadaconé^g.

^d P has, *ledict*.

^e P and C have, *enfants*.

^f A has, *Taignoaigny*.

^g P has, *lieu*.

king [Francis I], his master, had forbidden him to carry off to France any man or woman but only two or three boys to learn the language; but that he would willingly take him to Newfoundland and set him upon an island⁴⁸. The Captain spoke thus in order to calm their fears and to induce Chief Donnacona, who still kept on the other side of the river, to cross over. Taignoagny was much pleased at these words which made him hope he should never go back to France, and he promised the Captain to return on the following day, which was Holy Cross day⁴⁹ and to bring with him Chief Donnacona and all the people of Stadacona.

⁴⁸ It should be borne in mind that at that time Newfoundland was supposed to form an archipelago. *Vid.* p. 3 *supra*, note 1.

⁴⁹ Wednesday, May 3, 1536. Florio has here "Holyroode day" which name is usually given to the festival of the Exaltation of the Cross on September 14. The third of May is the festival of the Finding of the Cross.

COMMENT, LE JOUR SAINCTE CROIX, LE CAPPI-
TAIN FICT PLANTER VNE CROIX DEDANS NOSTRE
FORT; ET COMMENT LE^h SEIGNEUR DONNACONA,
TAIGNOAGNY, DOM AGAYA ET LEUR BANDE VIN-
DRENT, ET DE LA PRINSE DUDICT SEIGNEUR. |

Le III^e jour de may, jour et feste sainte Croix, pour la sol- 55^r
lempnité etⁱ feste, le cappitaine fist planter vne belle croix, de la
haulteur d'environ trente cinq piedz de longueurⁱ, soubz le croizil-
lon⁵⁰ de laquelle y avoit vng escusson, en bosse, des armes de
France⁵¹, et sus icelluy estoit escript en lettre atticque⁵²: *FRAN-
CISCVS PRIMVS, DEI GRATIA FRANCORVM REX, REG-
NAT*. Et celluy jour, environ midi, vindrent plusieurs gens de
Stadaconé, tant hommes, femmes, que enffans, qui nous dirent
que leur seigneur Donnacona, Taignoagny, dom Agaya et aultres
qui estoient en sa compaignye, venoyent, de quoy fumes joieux,
esperant nous en saisir. Lesquelz vindrent environ deux heures
après midi; et lors qu'ilz furent arrivez davant noz navires, nostre

^h P has, *ledict*.

ⁱ P has, *de la*.

ⁱ C has, *haulteur*.

HOW ON HOLY CROSS DAY, THE CAPTAIN HAD
A CROSS SET UP INSIDE OUR FORT; AND HOW
CHIEF DONNACONA, TAIGNOAGNY, DOM AGAYA
AND THEIR PARTY CAME, AND OF THE CAPTURE OF
THIS CHIEF.

On [Wednesday] May 3, which was the festival of the Holy
Cross⁴⁹, the Captain in celebration of this solemn feast, had a beauti-
ful cross erected some thirty-five feet high, under the cross-bar⁵⁰
of which was attached an escutcheon, embossed with the arms
of France⁵¹, whereon was printed in Roman characters⁵²: LONG
LIVE FRANCIS I. BY GOD'S GRACE KING OF FRANCE.

⁵⁰ Florio has, "crosset."

⁵¹ The three *fleurs de lys*.

⁵² Cf. Geofroy Tory, *Champfleury*. *Auquel est contenu Lart & Science de la
deue & vraye Proportion des Lettres Attiques, quon dit autrement Lettres Antiques,
& vulgairement Lettres Romaines*, etc., Paris, 1529. Lescarbot, *op. cit.*, 1609,
p. 406 has added in the margin: "Je croy qu'il veut dire Antique". A cross
of similar dimensions and character was erected at the mouth of the Lairet in
1886. *Vid.* 1^{er} et 2^{me} *Bulletin du comité littéraire et historique du cercle Catho-
lique de Québec—Œuvre du monument Jacques Cartier*, Québec, 1888.

cappitaine alla saluer le^k seigneur Donnacona, lequel pareillement
 luy fist grand[e] chère, may's tousiours avoyt l'œil au boys, et
 55^v vne | craincte merveilleuse. Tost après arryva Taignoagny¹,
 lequel dist audict seigneur Donnacona, qu'il n'entrast point
 dedans le fort. Et lors fut, par l'un de leur[s]^m gens, apporté du
 feu horsⁿ dudict fort, et allumé pour^o ledict seigneur. Nostre
 cappitaine le pria de venyr boire et menge[r]^p dedans les navires,
 comme avoyt de coustume, et semblablement en pria ledict
 Taignoagny, lequel dist que tantost ilz y yroient^q; ce qu'ilz firent
 et entrèrent dedans ledict fort⁵³. Mays auparavant avoyt esté
 nostre cappitaine adverty par dom Agaya, que ledict Taigno-
 agny^r avoyt mal parlé⁵⁴, et qu'il avoyt dict au seigneur Donna-
 cona qu'il n'entrast point dedans les navires. Et nostre^s
 cappitaine, voyant ce, sortit hors du parc où il estoit, et vyt que
 les femmes s'en fuyoient par l'advertissement dudict Taignoagny^t,

^k P has, *ledict*.

¹ A has, *Taignoaigny*.

^m From A, P and C.

ⁿ C has, *de hors*.

^o P has, *par*.

^p From A, P and C.

^q P has, *il entreroit*; C, *ilz entreroient*.

^r A has, *Taignoaigny*.

^s P has, *nostredict*.

^t A has, *Taignoaigny*.

And that day about noon several persons arrived from Stadacona, both men, women and children, who told us that Chief Donnacona with Taignoagny, Dom Agaya and the rest of their party were on their way, which pleased us, as we were in hopes of being able to capture them. They arrived about two o'clock in the afternoon; and as soon as they came opposite to our ships, the Captain went and greeted Chief Donnacona, who likewise was friendly enough but kept his eye constantly fixed on the wood and was wonderfully uneasy. Soon after Taignoagny came up and told Chief Donnacona that on no account should he go inside the fort. Thereupon one of their men brought out some embers and lit a fire for their Chief outside the fort. Our Captain begged him to come on board the ships to eat and to drink as usual, and also invited Taignoagny, who replied that they would go presently. This they did and came inside the fort⁵³. Before this however our Captain had been warned by Dom Agaya, that Taignoagny had spoken adversely⁵⁴ and had told Chief Donnacona by no means to go on board the ships. And our Captain knowing

⁵³ Florio has, "entred in our Shippes."

⁵⁴ Florio has, "had spoken yll of him."

et qu'il ne demouroyt que les hommes, lesquels estoient en grand nombre. Et [lors] commanda le^u cappitaine à ses gens, prendre ledict seigneur Donnacona, Taignoagny^v, dom Agaya et deulx^w | aultres des principaulx, qu'il monstra; puis, que on fist retire[r]^x 56^r les aultres. Tost après ledict seigneur entra dedans [le fort] avecq ledict cappitaine; mayz tout soubdain ledict Taignoagny vint pour le faire sortir. Nostre cappitaine, voyant qu'il n'y avoyt aultre ordre⁵⁵, se print à cryer, que on les prynt. Auquel cry sortirent les gens d'udict cappitaine, lesquels prindrent ledict seigneur et ceulx que [l']on avoyt deslibéré prendre. Lesdictz Canadians, voyans ladicte prinse, commencèrent à fuyr et courir comme brebis davant le loup, les vngs le travers la ripvière⁵⁶, les aultres parmy le boys, serchant chascun son advantaige. Ladicte prinse ainsi faicte des dessusdictz, et que les aultres se furent tous retirez, furent mys en seure garde, ledict seigneur et ses compaignons. |

^u P has, *ledict*.

^v A has, *Taignoagny*.

^w P has, & *de deux*.

^x From A, P and C.

this went outside the fort where he had been keeping and saw that at Taignoagny's warning the squaws were hurrying away, and that none but men were left, who were present in considerable numbers. At this the Captain issued his orders for the seizure of Chief Donnacona, Taignoagny, Dom Agaya and two other headmen, whom he pointed out, and he commanded that the others should be driven away. Soon after the chief [Donnacona] entered the fort in company with the Captain, whereupon Taignoagny immediately rushed in to make him go out again. Seeing there was no other chance⁵⁵, our Captain proceeded to call to his men to seize them. At this they rushed forth and laid hands upon the chief and the others whose capture had been decided upon. The Canadians, beholding this, began to flee and to scamper off like sheep before wolves, some across the river⁵⁶, others into the wood, each seeking his own safety. When the above-mentioned had been captured and the rest had all disappeared, the chief and his companions were placed in safe custody.

⁵⁵ Florio has, "seeing that there was no other remedie."

⁵⁶ St. Charles.

56^v

COMMENT LES CANADIENS VINDRENT LA NUICT
DAVANT LES NAVIRES, SERCHER LEURS GENS, DU-
RANT LAQUELLE ILZ ULLOUYENT ET CRYOIENT
COMME LOUPS; ET LE PARLEMENT ET CONCLU-
SION QU'ILZ FIRENT LE LANDEMAIN; ET DES PRE-
SENS QU'ILZ FIRENT À NOSTRE CAPPITAINE.

La nuict venue, vindrent d'avant noz navires, la ripvière⁵⁶ entre
deulx, grand nombre du peuple dudict Donnacona, huchant et
ullant⁵⁷ toute la nuyt comme lous, cryant sans cesse, *ago[u]hanna*,
*ago[u]hanna*⁵⁸, pensant parler à luy. Ce que ne permist ledict
cappitaine pour l'heure, ny le [lendemain] matin⁵⁹, jusques en-
vyron midy; par quoy nous faisoient signe, que les avyons tuez
et penduz⁶⁰. Et envyron l'heure de midi, retournèrent de rechef,
en aussi grand nombre que avyons veu de voyaige, pour vng coup,
57^r eulx tenans cachez dedans | le boys, fors aulcuns d'eulx, qui

^v From P and C. A and B have, *agohanna*.

HOW AT NIGHTFALL THE CANADIANS CAME OPPO-
SITE TO OUR SHIPS TO LOOK FOR THEIR MEN, AND
HOWLED AND CRIED ALL NIGHT LIKE WOLVES;
AND OF THE PARLEY AND AGREEMENT MADE NEXT
DAY AND THE PRESENTS THEY OFFERED TO OUR
CAPTAIN.

At nightfall a large number of Donnacona's people came
opposite to our ships, the river [St. Charles] between us, howling
and crying⁵⁷ like wolves all night long, calling out incessantly,
Agouhanna, *Agouhanna*⁵⁸, in the hope of being able to speak to
him [Donnacona]. This the Captain would not then allow, nor
during the whole of the following morning⁵⁹ until about noon,
on which account they made signs to us that we had killed or
hanged them⁶⁰. And about noon they returned in as great
numbers as we had seen during the voyage, prepared for a move
of some sort, and remained hidden in the wood, except a few who

⁵⁷ Ramusio has, *battendo*, *gridando* & *urlando*, whence Florio's "striking
their breastes, crying and howling."

⁵⁸ *Vid. supra* p. 121.

⁵⁹ Thursday, May 4.

⁶⁰ So Florio, "hanged or killed hym."

cryoient et appelloient, à haulte voix, ledict Donnacona. Et lors commanda le cappitaine faire monter ledict Donnacona hault, pour parler à eulx. Et luy dist ledict cappitaine, qu'il fist bonne chère, et que après avoyr parlé au Roy de France, son maistre, et compté(r)^z ce qu'il avoyt veu au Saguenay et aultres lieulx, qu'il reviendroyt dedans dix ou douze lunes; et que le Roy luy feroyt vng grand présent. De quoy fut fort joieulx ledict Donnacona, lequel^a le dist es aultres, en parlant à eulx, lesquelz en firent troys merueilleux criz, en signe de joye⁶¹. Et à l'heure, firent lesdictz peuples^b et Donnacona entre eulx plusieurs predications et serimonyes^c, lesquelles il n'est possible de escripre, par faulte de l'entendre^{d 62}. Nostre cappitaine dist audict Donnacona, qu'ilz vinssent seurement de l'autre bort, pour mieulx parler ensemble, et qu'il les asseuroyt. Ce que leur dist ledict Donnacona; |

^a A and P have, *compté*.

[■] P and C have, *et*.

^b P has, *ledict peuple*.

^c P has, *preschemens, lesquelz*.

^d P has, *possible d'entendre par faulte de langue*.

called out and shouted aloud to Donnacona. At this the Captain gave orders for Donnacona to be brought on deck to address them. And the Captain told him [Donnacona] to be of good cheer, for that after he had had an interview with the king of France, his master, and had related what he had seen at the Saguenay, he would be able, within ten or twelve moons, to come back, and that the king would make him a fine present. At this Donnacona was much pleased and in his speech mentioned it to the others, who gave three great shouts in sign of joy⁶¹. Then these people and Donnacona made several harangues and went through various ceremonies which, as we did not understand them, it is impossible to describe⁶². Our Captain told Donnacona that his people might cross the river [St. Charles] in all security in order to converse with greater comfort, and that he might reassure them. On learning this from Donnacona, several of the headmen came alongside our vessels in a canoe and began once more their harangues, praising our Captain and making him a present of twenty-four strings of wampum⁶³, which is the most valuable article they possess in this

⁶¹ *Vid.* p. 130 *supra*, note 80.

⁶² Ramusio has, *non è possibile descrivere per mancamento d'interpreti*, whence Florio's, " whiche for wante of interpretours cannot be described."

⁶³ *Vid.* pp. 160-161 *supra*.

57^v et sur ce, vindrent vne barquée des principaulx [à]^e bort esdictz navires, lesquelz, de rechef, commencèrent à faire plusieurs preschemens, en donnant louange à nostre ^f cappitaine, et luy firent présent de vingt quatre colliers d'esnoguy ^g 6³, qui est la plus-grand richesse qu'ilz ayent en ce monde; car ilz l'estiment mieulx ^h que or ny ⁱ argent. Après qu'ilz eurent assez parlementé et divisé, les vngs avecq les aultres, et [veu] qu'il n'y avoyt remede audict seigneur d'eschapper, et qu'il failloyt qu'il vînt en France, il leur commanda que on luy apportast vivres, pour menger par la mer, et que on les luy apportast le landemain. Nostre cappitaine fict présent audict Donnacona de deux pailles d'arain ⁶⁴ et de huict hachotz, et aultres menues besongnes, comme cousteaulx et pate-nostres; de quoy fut fort joieulx à ^j son semblant, et les envoya à ses femmes et enffans. Pareillement donna ledict cappitaine à 58^r ceulx qui estoyent venuz parler audict Donnacona, | aucuns petitz presens, desquelz ^k remercyèrent fort ledict cappitaine. A tant se retirèrent, et s'en allèrent à leurs logis.

^a From A and P.

^f P has, *nostredict*.

^g From C. A and B have here, *enoguy* while P gives as usual, *Esurgny*.

^h P has, *plus*.

ⁱ P has, &c.

^j P has, *en*.

^k P has, *dequoy*.

world; for they attach more value to it than to gold or silver. When they had chatted and discussed matters together to their heart's content, and had seen that there was no chance for their chief to escape, and that he would be obliged to go to France, the latter commanded them to fetch provisions to eat at sea, and to bring them to him on the following day. Our Captain presented Donnacona with two brass kettles ⁶⁴, eight hatchets and some smaller objects such as knives and beads, at which to all appearance he was much pleased, and sent them to his wives and children. The Captain likewise gave some small presents to the Indians who had come to speak with Donnacona, who thanked him extremely for the same. After that they left and went back to their wigwams.

⁶⁴ Cf. Palsgrave, *op. cit.*, 171: "*palle*, a pale." Ramusio has, *due padelle di rame*, whence Florio's "two frying pannes of Copper."

COMMENT LE LANDEMAIN, CINQUIESME JOUR DE
MAY, LEDICT PEUPLE RETOURNA, POUR PARLER À
LEUR SEIGNEUR; ET COMMENT IL VINT QUATRE
FEMMES À BORT, LUY APPORTER DES VIVRES.

Le landemain, cinquiesme jour dudict moys, au plus matin, ledict peuple retourna en grand nombre, pour parler à leur seigneur; et envoyèrent vne barque, qu'ilz appellent [en leur langaige] *casnouy*⁶⁵, en laquelle y¹ estoient quatre | femmes, sans y avoyr ^{58v} aucuns hommes, pour le doubte qu'ilz avoyent que on [ne] les retînt, lesquelles apportèrent force vivres, sçavoyr: groz mil, qui est le bled duquel ilz vivent, chair, poisson, et aultres prouvisions à leur modde. Esquelles, après estre arriveez es navires, fist^m le cappitaine bon racqueul. Et pria Donnacona leⁿ cappitaine, qu'il dist [ausdictes^o femmes], que dedans douze lunes il retourne-royt, et qu'il ameneroyt ledict Donnacona à Canada; et ce disoyt

¹ P has, *ilz*.

^m P and C have, *Lesquelles . . . leur fist*, etc.

ⁿ P has, *audict*.

^o C has, *esdictes*. A and B give, *qu'il leur dist*.

HOW ON THE MORROW, MAY 5, THESE INDIANS
CAME BACK TO SPEAK WITH THEIR CHIEF;
AND HOW FOUR SQUAWS BROUGHT PROVISIONS ON
BOARD TO HIM.

On the following day, [Friday] May 5, at daybreak, the Indians returned in considerable numbers in order to speak with their Chief; and sent over a canoe, which in their language is called *casnouy*⁶⁵, with four squaws but no men for fear lest we should detain them. These women brought a large quantity of food to wit: Indian corn (which is their wheat), fresh meat, fish and the other provisions they use. The Captain received these squaws well on board the ships. And Donnacona begged the Captain to say to them that he would return within twelve moons, and would bring Donnacona to Canada. He spoke thus to set their minds at rest. The Captain did as requested, whereupon the squaws pretended to be much pleased, and gave him to understand by signs and words, that should he ever return and bring back

⁶⁵ The modern Seneca word is *gasna*. Our form of the word comes to us from the Spanish writers on America.

pour^p les contenter. Ce que fist ledict cappitaine, dont lesdictes femmes firent vng grand semblant de joye, en^q monstrant par signes et parolles audict cappitaine, que may^s qu'il retournast et amenast ledict Donnacona et aultres, ilz luy feroient plusieurs présens. Et lors chascunes d'elles^r donna audict cappitaine vng collier d'esnoguy. Puis s'en allèrent de l'autre bort de la rip-vière⁶⁶, où estoyent tout le peuple dudict Stadaconé; et se retirèrent, [prenant^s] congé dudict seigneur Donnacona. |

59^r Le sabmedi, VI^{me} jour [dudict moys] de may, nous appareillâmes du havre sainte Croix⁶⁶, et vinsmes poser au bas de l'isle d'Orleans⁶⁷, envyron douze lieues dudict lieu sainte Croix. Et le dimanche⁶⁸, vinsmes à l'isle es Coudres⁶⁹, où avons esté jusques au lundi, XV(I)^{e70} jour dudict moys, laissant amortir les eaues, lesquelles estoient trop courantes et dongereuses pour avaller ledict fleuve⁷¹, [et attendans bon temps]. Pendant lequel

^p P has, *à celle fin de*.

^q From P and C. A and B have, *et*.

^r P has, *dicelles*.

^s From P. A, B and C have, *puys se retirèrent et prindrent congé*, etc.

Donnacona and the rest, the whole tribe would give him many presents. After this each of them offered the Captain a string of wampum. Then they retired to the opposite bank of the river [St. Charles], where the whole population of Stadacona was collected; and all withdrew waving farewell to their Chief Donnacona.

On Saturday, May 6, we set sail from ~~Ste.~~ Croix harbour⁶⁶, and came to anchor at the foot of the island of Orleans⁶⁷, some twelve leagues from Ste. Croix. And on Sunday⁶⁸ we reached Coudres island⁶⁹, where we remained until Monday, the fifteenth of the month, to allow the spring-flood to moderate; for it was too swift and dangerous to sail down the river⁷¹; and we were

⁶⁶ The St. Charles.

⁶⁷ Still so called. On his arrival Cartier had called it isle of Bacchus (*Vid.* p. 127, note 73). It was evidently named after Charles, duke of Orleans, the third son of Francis I. Cf. Thevet, *Cosmographie universelle*, II, 1011: "Quant à la grand riviere de Hochelaga, il y a dedans de tresbelles Isles, comme . . . celle d'Orleans, ainsi nommee à l'honneur & memoire du feu Duc d'Orleans."

⁶⁸ May 7, 1535.

⁶⁹ Still called *île aux Coudres*. *Vid.* pp. 118-119 *supra*.

⁷⁰ Monday was the fifteenth.

⁷¹ The St. Lawrence.

temps, vindrent plusieurs barques des peuples subgetz audict Donnacona, lesquelz venoyent de la ripvière du Saguenay⁷². Et lors que, par dom Agaya, furent advertiz de la prinse d'eulx, et la façon et manière comme on menoyt ledict Donnacona en France, furent bien estonnez, mayns ne laissèrent à venyr le long des navires parler audict Donnacona, qui leur dist que dedans douze lunes il retourneroyt, et qu'il avoyt bon traictement | avecq le ^{59v} cappitaine et compaignons⁷³. De quoy tous, à vne voix, remercièrent ledict cappitaine, et donnèrent audict Donnacona troys pacquetz de peaulx de byèvres et lousps maryns⁷⁴, avecq vng grand cousteau de cuyvre rouge, qui vient dudict Saguenay, et aultres choses. Ilz donnèrent aussi au cappitaine^u vng collier d'esnoguy, pour lesquelz presens leur fist le^v cappitaine donner dix ou douze hachotz, desquelz furent fort contens et joyeux, remercyant^w ledict cappitaine; puy s'en retournèrent.

^u P has, *Semblablement donnerent audict cappitaine.*

^v P has, *ledict.*

^w P has, *& en remercierent.*

also waiting for fine weather. During this interval arrived several canoes with Indians who were Donnacona's subjects, who came from the river Saguenay⁷². And on being informed by Dom Agaya of their capture and how and in what manner Donnacona was being taken to France, they were extremely astonished; but nevertheless came alongside to speak to Donnacona, who told them that within twelve months, he would come back and that he was well treated by the Captain and the sailors⁷³. At this all with one voice thanked the Captain. And to Donnacona they gave three bundles of beaver and seal-skins⁷⁴, with a large copper knife from the Saguenay and other gifts, and presented the Captain with a string of wampum. In return for these things the Captain had ten or twelve hatchets given to them, which made them very happy and contented; and they thanked the Captain and then left.

⁷² The mouth of the Saguenay is about fifty miles from the lower end of the *île aux Coudres*.

⁷³ Ramusio has, *dal Capitano & compagni & marinari*, whence Florio's, "well used with the Captayne, Gentlemen and Mariners."

⁷⁴ Florio has, "Sea Wolves Skinnes."

Le passaige est plus seur et meilleur entre le nort et ladicte ysle⁷⁵ que vers le su, pour le grand nombre des basses, bancqs et rochiers, qui y sont; et aussi qu'il y a petit fondz. |

60^r Le landemain, XVI^{me} jour [dudict moys] de may, nous appareillâmes de ladicte ysle es Coudres, et vinsmes poser à vne ysle⁷⁶, qui est à envyron quinze lieues de ladicte ysle es Coudres, laquelle est grande, de envyron cinq lieues de long; et là posâmes^x celluy jour pour passer la nuyt⁷⁷, esperant, le landemain, passer⁷⁸ les dongiers du Saguenay, lesquelz sont fort grandz⁷⁹. Le soyr fumes à ladicte ysle, où trouvâmes grand nombrè de liepvres, desquelz nous eusmes quantité; et pour ce, la nommasmes *l'isle es Liepvres*⁸⁰. Et la nuict, le vent vint contraire et en tormente, tellement

^x P has, *passâmes*.

The channel is safer and better to the north of this island⁷⁵ than to the south of it, where there are a large number of shoals, bars and boulders, and where the water is shallow.

On the following day [Tuesday] May 16, we set sail from Coudres island, and came to anchor at an island⁷⁶ lying some fifteen leagues below Coudres island. This island is about five leagues in length. Here we anchored for the night⁷⁷, hoping on the morrow to make our way through⁷⁸ the dangers of the Saguenay [river] which are great⁷⁹. In the evening we rowed over to this [Hare] island where we found a great number of hares, and captured a quantity of them. On this account we named the island, "Hare island"⁸⁰. In the night, the wind veered around

⁷⁵ *Ile aux Coudres*. This paragraph is omitted in P. Cf. Bayfield, *op. cit.*, I, 282-83: "North Channel stretches along the high northern shore of the river, inside Coudres island . . . This channel was formerly in general use, but it is now little known to the majority of the pilots. It is broader than South channel but the streams are much stronger . . . Altogether, South channel is preferable for the general purposes of navigation: yet North channel is good."

⁷⁶ Hare island, forty-one miles below Coudres island. It is eight miles long and half a mile wide. *Vid.* p. 116.

⁷⁷ Ramusio has, *& ivi ci fermamo quel giorno par riposar la notte*, which Florio rendered, "and there, to the ende we might take some rest the night following, we staide that day."

⁷⁸ Ramusio has, *passar & schifar*, whence Florio's, "passe and avoyde."

⁷⁹ *Vid.* p. 115 *supra*, note 31.

⁸⁰ It is still called *Ile aux Lièvres* or Hare island. These have since disappeared. Cf. Sagard, *Histoire*, etc., 157: "Proche de là est l'Isle aux lievres, ainsi nommée pour y en avoir esté pris au commencement qu'elle fut decouverte, mais à present ils y sont bien rare."

qu'il nous faillyt^y relascher à l'isle es Couldrez, d'où^z estions partiz, parce qu'il n'y a^a aultre passaige entre lesdictes ysles. Et y fumes jusques au [XXI^{me}]^b jour dudict moys, que le vent vint bon; et tant fymes par noz journées | que nous passames jusques 60^v à Honguedo⁸¹, entre l'isle de l'Assumption⁸² et ledict Honguedo, lequel passaige n'avoyt par [cy] devant esté descouvert. Et fismes couryr jusques le travers du cap de Prato⁸³, qui est le commencement de la baye de Chaleur. Et pource que le vent estoit convenable et bon à plaisir, fismes porter le jour et la nuyt. Et le landemain⁸⁴ vinsmes querir au corps l'isle de Bryon⁸⁵, ce que vouldyons faire, pour l[']abrége^c de nostre chemyn⁸⁶. [Et sont]

^y P has, *convint*.

^z P has, *dont*.

^a P has, *avoit*.

^b From P and C. There is a blank here in A and B.

^c From P and C. A and B have, *la barge*; P has, *ce que ne voulions faire*, etc. where the negative is evidently a printer's error for a contracted *nous*. *Vid.*, pp. 9, 26 and 28 of P for similar contractions.

into a head wind and blew with such violence that [on Wednesday, May 17] we had to run back under the lee of Coudres island, whence we had set out, as there is no other passage among these islands. And there we remained until [Sunday] the twenty-first of the month, when the wind came fair; and we made such good headway each day that we passed down as far as Honguedo⁸¹, between the island of Assumption⁸² and this Honguedo, which passage had never before been discovered. And we ran on until we came opposite cape Pratto [or Meadow⁸³], which is the entrance to Chaleur bay. And as the wind was fair and entirely in our favour, we carried sail both night and day. And on the morrow⁸⁴, we found we were heading straight for the middle of Brion island⁸⁵, which was what we wished in order to shorten our route⁸⁶.

⁸¹ Gaspé. See p. 103 *supra*.

⁸² Anticosti island. On their way up they had gone north of the island so that this was the first time they had been through the passage to the south of it between Anticosti and Gaspé. *Vid.* p. 104 *supra*.

⁸³ Cap d'Espoir at the mouth of Chaleur bay. The cape was so named on the first voyage in 1534. *Vid.* p. 58 *supra*.

⁸⁴ In all probability Wednesday, May 24. It would take them quite three days to sail from Coudres island to Chaleur bay.

⁸⁵ Discovered and so named on the first voyage. *Vid.* p. 34 *supra*.

⁸⁶ *Cf.* p. 35 *supra*. They wished to see if there was really a passage into the Atlantic between Newfoundland and Cape Breton as they had supposed on their first voyage.

gisantes les deux terres suest et norouaist, vng quart de l'est et de l'ouaist; et y a entre eulx cinquante lieues. Ladicte ysle est en quarente sept degrez et demy de latitude⁸⁷. |

61^r Le jeudi, XXV(I)^{me d} jour dudict moys, jour et feste de l'Ascension Nostre Seigneur, nous traversames à vne terre et sillon^e de basses araynes⁸⁸, qui demeurent au surouaist de ladicte ysle de Bryon, envyron huict lieues, par [des]sus lesquelles y a de grosses terres, plaines d'arbres⁸⁹. Et y a vne mer enclose⁹⁰, dont n'avons veu aucune entrée ny ouverture, par où entre[r en] icelle^f mer⁹¹. Et le vendredi, XXVI^{eg}, parce que le vent chargeoit à la couste, retournames à ladicte ysle de Brion, où

^d Thursday was 25 May. Farther on Friday is correctly called the twenty-sixth. For this reason a late hand has drawn a stroke through the last bar of the VI in MS. B.

[■] P has, *sablon*.

^f P has, *pour entrer en icelle*.

^g P has, 27, but Friday fell on the twenty-sixth.

These coasts [Gaspé and Brion island] lie south-east and north-west, one quarter east and west, while the distance between them is fifty leagues. This [Brion] island lies in latitude 47° 30'⁸⁷.

On Thursday the twenty-fifth of the month [of May], the anniversary of the festival of our Lord's Ascension, we crossed to a coast and narrow strip of low sandy shore lying some eight leagues to the south-west of Brion island⁸⁸. Beyond this low coast are high lands covered with trees⁸⁹. And there is also a lagoon⁹⁰ into which we saw no entrance or opening, by which to enter the same⁹¹. And on Friday the twenty-sixth, as the wind began to blow off the sea, we went back to Brion island,

⁸⁷ 47° 48'.

⁸⁸ This was East island, the most north-easterly of the Magdalen group, ten and a half miles south-west of Brion island.

⁸⁹ Cf. Bayfield, *op. cit.*, I, 42-3: "East point, forming the north-east extreme of Magdalen islands, is of low sand, inclosing several shallow ponds, and having several sand-hills, some of which are near its extremity, while others, of greater elevation and farther westward, extend in a chain nearly to North-east cape. These last mentioned sand-hills are inland"; cf. also Clarke, *op. cit.* plates II and XIV; and also pp. 36 *supra*, notes 22 and 24.

⁹⁰ The Great Lagoon or Grand Entry harbour inside Grosse, East and Coffin islands. *Vid* Clarke, *op. cit.* plate 2.

⁹¹ The entrance to Grand Entry harbour lies in behind Coffin island and is extremely narrow.

fumes jusques au premier jour de juing. Et vinmes querir vne terre haulte⁹², qui demeure au suest de ladicte ysle, qui nous apparessoit estre vne ille; et la rangames envyron vingt deux^h lieues et demye. Faisant lequel chemin, eusmes congnoissance de troys aultres ysles⁹³ qui demouroient vers les araines⁹⁴; et pareillement lesdictes araines estre ille⁹⁵, et ladicte terre⁹⁶, qui est terre haulte et vnye, estre terre certaine, ce rabatent au norouaist⁹⁷. Après | lesquelles choses congnes, retournasmes au cap de ladicte terre⁹⁸, qui se faict à deulx ou trois caps⁹⁹, hautz à merveilles, et grand parfond d'eau¹⁰⁰, et la marée si courante, qu'il n'est pos-

^h P has, *deux lieues & demye*.

where we remained until [Thursday] June 1. And [setting sail that day] we came to a high shore [Cape Breton island], lying south-east of this [Brion] island, which appeared to us to be an island, which we coasted for some twenty-two leagues. While holding this course, we descried three other islands⁹³ lying near the sand-bars⁹⁴, and likewise perceived that these sand-bars formed an island⁹⁵. This coast [of Cape Breton island], which is high and flat, we saw to be mainland, which ran north-west⁹⁷. After discovering this we made our way back⁹⁸ to the point of this coast where there are two or three very very high capes⁹⁹, with great depth of water¹⁰⁰, and the tide as strong as it is possible to meet¹. We named this cape, which lies in 46° 30', "cape

⁹² Cape Breton island.

⁹³ Alright, Entry and Amherst islands of the Magdalen group.

⁹⁴ The Magdalens.

⁹⁵ That is to say, that the Magdalens were not mainland as they had supposed on their first voyage (p. 35) but were really a group of islands. They are called *ysles des Arenes* on the Desliens map and on the Desceliers planisphere. The Homem map has, *ille des Sablones*. They are frequently mentioned in Hakluyt (*op. cit.*, III, 189, 191, 192, 193 and 195-201) under the name of Ramea islands. Cf. p. 35 *supra*, note 20.

⁹⁶ Cape Breton island.

⁹⁷ The variation of the compass here is now between 26° and 27° W.

⁹⁸ This shows that they had ranged Cape Breton island from north to south.

⁹⁹ Cape St. Lawrence, Black point, cape North, Money point, etc.

¹⁰⁰ The depths here run from eighty to over one hundred fathoms.

¹ Cf. Bayfield, *op. cit.*, II, 214: "Even with a smooth sea and in fine summer weather, vessels are set in toward this coast; an effect which seems to be due sometimes to the general current from the north-west . . . and at other times to the direction of the ebb stream from Northumberland strait"; and also pp. 280-81 of the same work.

sible de plus⁴. Nous nommames celluy cap, *cap de Lorraine*ⁱ qui est en 46 degrez $\frac{1}{2}$ ². Au su duquel cap, y a vne basse terre, et semblant de entrée de ripvière, mais il n'y a hable qui vaille³. Par sus lesquelles [terres], vers le su, demeure^j vng [aultre] cap de terre, que nous nommasmes *le cap de saint Paoul*, qui est en 47 degrez $\frac{1}{4}$ ⁴.

Le dimanche, IIII^e jour dudict moys, jour et feste de la Panthecouste, eusmes congnoissance de la coste d'est suest de Terre Neufve, estant^k à envyron xxii lieues dudict cap⁵. Et

ⁱ P has, *Nous arrivâmes celluy iour au cap de Lorraine.*

^j P has, *veismes.*

^k P has, *qui estoit.*

Lorraine²". To the south of it, the shore in one place is low as if a river entered the sea there; but there is no harbour of any value³. Beyond these headlands towards the south stands another cape named by us "cape St. Paul," which lies in 47° 15'⁴.

On Sunday, the fourth of that month [of June], which was the feast of Whitsuntide, we came in sight of the coast of Newfoundland, which runs east-south-east, and is distant some twenty-two leagues from the above cape [North⁵]. And as the wind was against us, we went into a harbour, which we named the "harbour of the Holy Ghost"⁶. Here we remained until Tuesday [June 6],

² Probably cape St. Lawrence, the north-western extremity of Cape Breton island. Cf. Thevet, *Singularitez*, 399-400: "Il y a un cap appelé de Lorraine, autrement de ceux qui l'ont decouvert, Terre des Bretons, prochaine des Terres neuves . . . un espace de dix ou douze lieues entre les deux . . . il gist à la terre par deuers le Nort, laquelle est rengée par une mer Mediterranee . . . Et depuis ledit cap allant a l'Ouest, Ouest et Surouest, se peut renger enuiron deux cens lieues, et tous sablons et arenes, sans aucuns port ne havre"; and also his *Cosmographie universelle*, II, 1010.

³ St. Lawrence bay between Cape St. Lawrence and Cape North; the whole north-west coast of Cape Breton is harbourless.

⁴ Cape North, the north-eastern extremity of Cape Breton island. The name survives in St. Paul's island thirteen miles out. It lies in latitude 47° 2' and is really north of Cape St. Lawrence.

⁵ The distance from cape North to cape Ray on the opposite side of Cabot strait is fifty-six miles. Champlain (*Works*, I, 94,) gives the distance as eighteen leagues.

⁶ Probably *port aux Basques* or Port Basque, seven miles and a half south-east of cape Ray. Cf. Maxwell, *op. cit.*, 224: "Port Basque is barren and rocky in appearance, but contains good anchorage for moderate-sized vessels, in a

pource que le vent estoit contraire, fumes à vng hable, que [nous] nommasmes *le hable du saint Esperit*⁶, jusques au mardi, que appareillasmes dudict hable, et rangames ladicte coste jusques aux illes de saint Pierre⁷. Lequel chemin faisant, trouvames | le ⁶² long de ladicte coste plusieurs illes et basses, fort dangereuses⁸, estans en la route d'est suest et ouaist norouaist, à 2, 3 et 4 lieues à la mer⁹. Nous fumes ausdictes¹ ysles saint Pierre¹⁰, où trouvastes plusieurs navires, tant de France que de Bretagne, depuis le jour saint Bernabé, XI^e de jung, jusques au XVI^e jour dudict moys, que appareillasmes desdictes ysles saint Pierre. Et vinmes au cap de Raze¹¹, et entrames dedans vng hable, nommé

¹ P and C have, *esdictes*.

when we set sail and coasted along that [south] shore [of Newfoundland] as far as the islands of St. Pierre⁷. On our way along that coast, which runs east-south-east and west-south-west, we saw several islands⁸ and some dangerous shoals, lying at a distance of two, three and four leagues out to sea⁹. We remained at these islands of St. Pierre¹⁰, where we met several ships both from France and from Brittany, from [Sunday] June 11, St. Barnabas' day, until [Friday] the sixteenth of that month, when we set sail from these islands of St. Pierre. And we came to cape Race¹¹

space nearly half a mile long and 1½ cables broad, with from eight to ten fathoms water, over mud." The harbour was so named because Whitsuntide commemorates the descent of the Holy Ghost upon the Apostles. *Vid.*, Acts, II.

⁷ Still called St. Pierre and Miquelon islands which belong to France to this day. Formerly with Langlade they formed three islands.

■ Dead, Burnt, Wreck, Great Bruit, Burger, Ramea, Penguin islands, etc.

■ Cf. J. B. Jukes, *Excursions in and about Newfoundland*, II, London, 1842, 186-7: "The whole coast between La Poile and Cape Ray seems to have been at one time or other strewn with wrecks. Every house is surrounded with old rigging, spars, masts, sails, ship's bells, rudders, wheels and other matters. A ship's galley lay at Port aux Basques."

¹⁰ Cf. Jukes, *op. cit.*, I, 91: "The harbour of St. Pierre consists of an outer road, which is protected by several small islands and rocks from most winds; and an inner harbour, which is smaller, and has a rocky bar that does not allow of the entrance of anything larger than a brig of about 200 tons."

¹¹ The south-eastern extremity of Newfoundland. It was most appropriately christened *Cabo Razo* or the "Barren cape" by the Corte-Reals. *Vi Biggar, The Precursors of Cartier*, xvii.

Rougnouse¹², où prinsmes eaues et boys, pour traverser la mer; et là laissames l'vne de noz barques¹³. Et appareillasmes dudict hable¹⁴, le lundì XIX^e jour dudict moys; et avecq bon temps avons navigué par la mer, tellement, que le seixiesme^{m15} jour de juillet [1536], sommes arrivez au hable de Saint Malo, la grace auⁿ Créateur, le priant^o, faisant fin à nostre navigation, nous donner sa grace et paradis à la fin; Amen. |

^m A has, *seiziesme* while P gives, 6 and C, VI^m^e. Lescarbot has also, *sezième*.

ⁿ P has, *du*.

^o P has, *lequel prions*.

and entered a harbour called Rougnouse¹², where we took on board wood and fresh water for consumption at sea. Here we left one of our long-boats¹³. And on Monday, the nineteenth of that month [of June], we set forth from this [Renewse] harbour and were favoured at sea with such good weather that we reached St. Malo on [Sunday] July 16¹⁵, 1536, thanks be to God, whom we implore on bringing our voyage to an end, to give us His grace and His paradise hereafter. Amen.

¹² Renewse harbour, ten miles north of cape Race.

¹³ Cf. MS. fr. 24269 in the Biblioth. Nat., Paris, fol. 55: "Soit faict memoire de la mercque de mes basteaux et barques, que je laissé en la Terre Nœufve, au havre de Jehan Denys, dict Rougnouse; Premièrement, ilz y en a six qui sont tout au cul du sac et quatre aultres qui sont à vne anse à main destre comme on entre au destroit, la prochayne anse du cul du sac. Et plus oultre, je laissé vne barque et vng basteau petit, à l'entrée du destroit auprès d'un jerfault." This note was written in all probability about 1544 by Jehan Cordyer of Rouen. Cf. also Hakluyt, *op. cit.*, III, 195: "We put in to Rogneuse to seeke Shallops."

¹⁴ Renewse harbour.

¹⁵ Palsgrave, *op. cit.* (edit. of 1530), fol. CXVII^v: "Seixiesme, syxteenth." The reprint of 1852 (p. 372) is wrong here.

ENSUIT LE LANGAIGE DES PAYS ET ROYAUMES DE HOCHELAGA 63^r
ET CANADA, AULTREMENT DICTE^p LA NOUVELLE FRANCE

HERE FOLLOWS THE LANGUAGE OF THE COUNTRIES AND KING-
DOMS OF HOCHELAGA AND CANADA, OTHERWISE CALLED
NEW FRANCE.

PREMIER LEUR NOMBRE DE COMPTER.

FIRST THEIR NUMERALS.

Un.	One.	Segada.	[O. Skáda
Deux.	Two.	Tigneny.	[M. Tiggeni.]
Trois.	Three.	Asche.	[M. Asse.]
Quatre.	Four.	Honnacon.	[W. Enda.]
Cinq.	Five.	Ouyscon.	[H. Ouyche.]
Six.	Six.	Judaié ^q .	[H. Hondahéa.]
Sept.	Seven.	Aiaga.	
Huit.	Eight.	Addegué.	[MM. Satego.]
Neuf.	Nine.	Wadellon ^r .	[O. Watlon.]
Dix.	Ten.	Assem ^s .	[O. Wáshen.]

ENSUICT LES NOMS DES PARTIES DU CORPS DE L'HOMME.

NEXT THE NAMES OF THE DIFFERENT PARTS OF THE BODY

La teste.	The head.	Aggonosy ^t .	[I. Akenontsi.]
Le frons.	The forehead.	Hetguyenyascon.	[W. Yen'tsa.]
Les yeux.	The eyes.	Hegata ^u .	[I. Okata.]
Les oreilles.	The ears.	Ahontascon.	[H. Ahontta.]
La bouche.	The mouth.	Escahé.	[H. Ascaharente.]
Les dentz.	The teeth.	Esgongay ^v .	[H. Asconchia.]
La langue.	The tongue.	Esnache ^w .	[M. Ennasa.]
La gorge.	The throat.	Agonhon ^x .	[M. Ohonikwa.]
Le menton.	The chin.	Hebbehin.	[H. Onhoinha.]
Le visaige.	The face.	Hegouascon ^y .	[M. Oneyatsa.]
Les cheveux.	The hair.	Aganyscon ^z .	[M. Gagenia.]
Les bras.	The arms.	Ayaiscon.	[H. Ahachia.]
Les esselles.	The armpits.	Hetnenda.	[H. Etneinchia.] ²

^p P has, *appelée par nous*.

^q C has, *Judayé*; P gives, *Indahir*.

^r P has, *Madellon* which can also be read in the MSS.

^s C has, *Assen*.

^t C has, *Agonozy*; P, *Aggourzy*.

^u C has, *Hetgata*.

^v P has, *Esgougay*.

^w P has, *Osuache*.

^x P has, *Agouhon*.

^y C has, *Hegouscon*; P, *Hogouascon*.

^z C has, *Aganiscon*.

¹ Van Curler (*op. cit.*, 100.) gives this word for "nose."

² Sagard gives this for "sur l'espaule."

Les coustez.	The sides.	Aissonné.	
L'estomach.	The stomach.	Aggoascon ^a .	[H. Otiachia.]
Le ventre.	The belly.	Eschehenda.	[I. Osiahonta.]
Les cuysse.	The thighs.	Hetnegoadascon ^b .	
Les genoilz.	The knees.	Agochinegodascon ^c .	[H. Ochinegoda.]
Les jambes.	The legs.	Agouguenehondé ^d .	[H. Anonta.]
Les piedz.	The feet.	Ouchidascon ^e .	[H. Achita.]
Les mains.	The hands.	Aignoascon.	[M. Osnotsa.]
Les doïdz.	The fingers.	Agenoga.	[M. Gasnonge.]
Les ongles.	The nails.	Agedascon.	
Le vyt.	Phallus.	Agnascon ^f .	
Le con.	The womb.	Chastaigné.	
La barbe du menton.	The beard.	Ostoné.	
La barbe du vyt.	Hair of Phallus.	Aggonsson.	
Les coillons.	The testicles.	Xista. |	
64 ^r Vng homme.	A man.	Aguehan.	[H. Augyahan.]
Vne femme.	A woman.	Aggouetté ^g .	[H. Coenhecti.]
Vng garçon.	A boy.	Addegesta.	
Vne fille.	A girl.	Agnyaquesta.	[M. Gakstestha.]
Vng petit enfant.	A small child.	Exiasta.	[M. Gaksaa.]
Vne robbe.	A dress.	Cabata.	
Vn prepoint.	A doublet.	Coza ^h .	
Des chausses.	Stockings.	Henondoua ⁱ .	[H. Andéuha.] ¹
Des soulliers.	Shoes.	Atha.	[I. Ahta.]
Des [chemises] ^j .	Shirts.	Anigoua [or Anigona].	
Vng bonnet.	A cap.	Castrua [or Castona].	
Ilz appellent leur bled.	They call their corn.	Ozisy ^k .	[On. Uste'saa.]
Pain.	Bread.	Carraconny.	[H. Caracona ² .]
Eaue.	Water.	Ame.	[H. Esmeu.]
Chair.	Flesh.	Quahouachon. ¹	[H. Auhoytsa.]
Poisson.	Fish.	Quejon.	[I. Kentsion.]
Prunes.	Plums.	Honnesta.	[M. Una'huste'.] ³
Figues.	Figs.	Absconda.	
Raisins.	Grapes.	Ozaha.	[O. Hu 'sá'ha.] ⁴
Noix.	Nuts.	Quaheya.	[M. Atnenha.] ⁵
Senelles de buisson.	Bush fruits.	Aesquesgoua ^{m 6} .	

^a P has, *Aggruascon*.

^b P has, *Hetnegradascon*.

^c P has, *Agochinegodasion*.

^d C has, *Agouguenondé*. Cf. the Huron form, *Anonta*.

^e P has, *Onchidascon*.

^f P has, *Aynoascon*.

^g P has, *Agrueste*.

^h P has, *Coioza*.

ⁱ C has, *Henondoa*.

^j B and C have *Chausses* again but P gives *chemises*.

^k P has *Osizy*.

¹ C has, *Quahouachon*.

^m C has, *Aesquesgoa*.

¹ Sagard gives this word for "une peau."

² Bruyas, *op. cit.*, 69, gives *Gannataronni*, "faire du pain." Cf. als Waugh, *op. cit.*, 128.

³ Waugh, *op. cit.*, gives this for "mandrake."

⁴ Waugh, *op. cit.*, 128, gives this for the elderberry.

⁵ Bruyas, *op. cit.*, gives this for *noyau*.

⁶ Cf. Waugh, *op. cit.*, 127-129.

Petites noix.	Small nuts.	Undegonaha ¹ [or Undegocaha]. |	
Vne poule.	A hen.	Sahonigagoa ⁿ .	[H. Ahonque ² .] 64 ^v
Vne lamproye.	A lamprey.	Zisto.	[H. Ohuista ³ .]
Vng saulmon.	A salmon.	Ondaccon.	[H. Einchetaon ⁴ .]
Vne ballaine.	A whale.	Ajunehonné ^o .	
Vne anguille.	An eel.	Esgneny [or Esgue ny].	[H. Askeendi.]
Vng escureul.	A squirrel.	Caïognen ^p .	[H. Ohihoin.]
Vne couleuvre.	A snake.	Undegnesy ^q .	[I. Onekentsi.]
Des tortues.	Turtles.	Heuleuzonné [or Heulenzonné ^r].	
Des ollyves.	Olives.	Honocohonda.	
Ils appellent le boys.	They call wood.	Conda.	[H. Ondata ⁵ .]
Feulhes de boys.	Leaves.	Honga [or Houga ^{s6}].	
Ilz appellent leur dieu.	They call their god.	Cudonaguy ^t .	
Donnez moy à boire.	Give me a drink.	Quazahoa quea.	
Donnez moy à desiune[r].	Give me breakfast.	Quazahoa quascahoa.	
Donnez moy à soupper.	Give me supper.	Quazahoa quatfream ^u .	
Allons nous coucher.	Let us go to bed.	Quasigno ^v , agnydahoa.	
Bon jour.	Good day.	Aigay.	
Allons jouer.	Let us go and bet.	Quasigno ^v caudy.	
Venez parler à moy.	Come and speak to me.	Asigny quadadya.	
Regardez moy.	Look at me.	Quatgathoma.	[M. Tag8atka8o.]
Taisez vous.	Silence.	Aista.	[On. Hisk.]
Allons au bateau.	Let us go to the canoe.	Quasigno quasnouy ^w. |	
Cela ne vault rien.	That's no good.	Sahauty quahonquey [or quahouquey].	65 ^r
Donnez moy vng couteau.	Give me a knife.	Quazahoa aggohedea.	
Vng achot.	A hatchet.	Addogué.	[MM. Atokea.]
Vng arc.	A bow.	Ahena.	[MM. Aeana.]

ⁿ P and C have *Sahomgahoa*.

^o P has, *Ainnehonne*.

^p P has, *Caïognem*.

^q P and C have, *Undeguezy*.

^r P has, *Heuleuxime* and C, *Heulonzonné* or *Heulouzonné*.

^s P has, *Hoga*.

^t P has, *Cudragny*.

^u P has, *Quatfream*.

^v P has, *Casigno*.

^w P has, *Casnouy*.

¹ Cf. Waugh, *op. cit.*, 123 where the Cayuga for hickory is given as *Onendogéa*.

² Sagard gives this word for *outarde*.

³ Sagard gives this word for *escailles*.

⁴ Sagard gives this for "*autre gros poisson du lac comme barbeaux*."

⁵ In Cayuga the word for shrub is *Ohonda*. *Vid.* Schoolcraft, *op. cit.*, 273, n° 143: and the Mohawk for *arbre* is *Garonta*. Bruyas, *op. cit.*, 94.

⁶ Cf. Waugh, *op. cit.*, 117-119.

Vne flesche.	An arrow.	Quahetan ^x .	
Des plumes.	Feathers.	Heccoon.	
Allons à la chasse.	Let us go a hunting.	Quasigno donassené ^y .	
Vng serf.	A stag.	Ajonuesta [or Ajon- nesta ^z].	
[De dains ilz dient que se sont moutons, & les appellent ^a].	They speak of does as sheep and call them.	Asquenondo.	[On. Scoenonto and Skenondo.]
Vng liepvre.	A hare.	Sonohamda ^b .	
Vng chien.	A dog.	Aggayo.	
Des oayes.	Geese.	Sadeguenda.	
[Ilz appellent]* le chemin.	They call a trail.	Addé.	[H. Hahatthey.]
Ilz appellent la graine de coucombres et ^e mellons.	They call the seed of cucumbers and mel- lons.	Cascouda [or Cascon- da].	
Quant ilz veulent dire demain, ilz dient.	When they wish to say to-morrow they say.	Achidé.	[H. Achietecque.]
Quant ilz veulent dire à Dieu à quelcun ilz dient.	When they wish to say good-bye to any one they say.	Hedgagnehanyga ^d .	
Chanter.	To sing.	Thegnehoaca.	[On. Jorriehwecqua.]
Rire.	To laugh.	Cahezem ^e .	
Pleure[r].	To cry.	Agguenda.	
Danscer.	To dance.	Thegoaca. |	[On. Wachgoentha.]
65 ^v Le ciel.	The heavens.	Quemhya ^f .	[M. Garonhia.]
La terre.	The earth.	Damga ^g .	
Le soleil.	The sun.	Ysnay.	
La lune.	The moon.	Assomaha ^h .	
Les estoilles.	The stars.	Signehoan ⁱ .	
Le vent.	The wind.	Cahona ^j .	
La mer.	The sea.	Agougasy ^k .	
Eaue douce.	Fresh water.	Amé.	[H. Esmen.]
Les vagues de la mer.	Sea waves.	Coda.	
Vne ille.	An island.	Cohena.	[M. Grah8endo.]
Vne montaigne.	A mountain.	Ogacha.	
La glace.	The ice.	Honnesca.	[H. Ondescoye.]
La neige.	The snow.	Canysa ^l .	
Froyt.	Cold.	Athau.	[C. Otowi.]

^x P has, *Quahetam*.

^y P has, *donassent*.

^z P has, *Aionnesta*.

^a B and C have merely *vng dain*.

^b P has, *Sourhamda*.

^e P has, *ou*.

^d C has, *Sedgagnehanyga*.

^e C has, *Cahezen*.

^f C has, *Quenheya*; P, *Quenhia*.

^g C has, *Daniga*.

^h C has, *Assommaha*.

ⁱ P has, *Siguehoham*.

^j P has, *Cahoha*.

^k P has, *Agogasy*; C, *Agogasi*.

^l P has, *Canisa*.

Chault.	Hot.	Odayan ^m .	[C. Otaiho.]
[Grand merciz.	Many thanks.	Adgnyeusce.]*	
Mon amy.	My friend.	Aguiase ⁿ .	[On. Ungiatschi.]
Courez.	Run.	Thodoathady.	[H. Saratate.]
[Venez nagez.	Come for a paddle.	Cazigahoatte.]*	
Feu.	Fire.	Asista ^o .	[H. Assista M. Gatsista.]
Fumée.	Smoke.	Quea.	
La fumée me faict mal ès yeux.	The smoke hurts my eyes.	Quea quanoagné egata. |	
Vng tel est mort.	So and so is dead.	Camedané.	
Vne maison.	A house.	Quanocha ^p .	[H. Ganochia.]
Ilz appellent leurs febves.	They call their beans.	Sahé.	[On. Ossahêta.] ¹
[Vng pot de terre.	The earthen pot.	Undaccon.]*	[M. Ondach.]
Ilz appellent une ville.	They call a town.	Canada.	[MM. Kanata.]
[Nota que leur seigneur a nom Donnacona et quant ilz le veulent appeller seigneur ilz l'appellent.	Note that their chief is named Donna- cona and when they wish to call him chief they say	Agouhanna.]*	[On. Hagoàna.]
Quant ilz veulent dire injurer à quelcun ilz l'appellent <i>Agojuda</i> , qui est à dire meschant et traystre.	When they wish to insult anyone they call him <i>agojuda</i> which means bad and treacherous.	Agojuda.	
Villain.	Ugly.	Aggousay ^q .	[H. Ocauté.]
[Cheminez.	Walk along.	Quedaqué.	[H. Hàhattey.]
D'où venez vous?	Whence come you?	Canada undagneny. [or undagneuy.]	
Donnez cela à quelcun.	Give that to some- one.	Taquenonde.	[H. Tanonte.]
Gardez moy cecy.	Keep that for me.	Sodanadegamesgamy.	
Où est allé cestuy?	Where has he gone?	Quanehoesnon.	[H. Anahouénon.]
Fermez la porte.	Shut the door.	Asnodyan.	[H. Senhoton.]
Va quérir de l'eau.	Go and fetch some water.	Sagithemmé.	
Va quérir quelcun.	Go and fetch some- one.	Achidascoué.]*	[H. Chatitaquiey.]
Ilz appellent l'herbe de quoy ilz usent en leurs cornetz durant l'yver.	They call the plant which they use in their pipes during the winter.	Quyecta ^r .	[H. Ayentaque.]
Il y a de groz ratz en leur pays, qui sont gros comme connyns, les- quelz sentent le musq et les appellent.	There are large rats in their country, the size of rabbits, which smell of musk and are call- ed.	Hoatthe.	
[Herbe commune.	Common plant.	Hanneda.]*	[M. Ohnehda.] ²

^m C has, *Odaian* and P, *Odazan*.ⁿ C has, *Aguyase*.^o P has, *Azista*.^p P has, *Canocha*.^q C has, *Aggousey*.^r C has, *Quiecta*.¹ Cf. Waugh, *op. cit.*, 110 where the Cayuga form is given as *sahe'da*.² Mr. Waugh tells me that this is the Mohawk for evergreen, the Onondaga form being *unénda*.

Quant une personne est si viel, qu'il ne peut plus chemyner, ilz l'appellent.	When a person is so old that he can no longer walk they call him.	Agondesta.	[H. Agondachia.]
Mon père.	My father.	Addhaty ^s .	[H. Aihtaha.]
Ma mère.	My mother.	Adhanahoé.	
Mon frère.	My brother.	Adhadguyn ^t .	[H. Ataquen.]
Ma seur.	My sister.	Adassene ^u .	[H. Sataquen.]
Mon cousin.	My cousin.	Hegay.	
Mon nepveu.	My nephew.	Yuadin. |	[H. Hiuoitan.]
66 ^v Ma femme.	My wife.	Ysaa.	
Mon enfant.	My child.	Aguo [or Agno.]	
Grand.	Big.	Estahezy.	
Petit.	Small.	Estahagao ^v .	
Gros.	Large.	Hougauda ^w .	
Gresle.	Thin.	Houcquehin ^x .	
Quant ilz veulent faire quelque exclamation ilz dient.	When they wish to make an exclamation they say.	Aggondée.	
[Le soir.	The evening.	Angau.	
La nuyt.	The night.	Anhena.	
Le jour.	The day.	Adegahon.	

ENSUIVENT LES NOMS DES VILLES SUBJECTES AU SEIGNEUR
DONNACONA.

HERE FOLLOW THE NAMES OF THE TOWNS SUBJECT TO CHIEF DONNACONA

Ajoasté.	Thegadechoallé.
Thoagahen.	Tella.
Sitadin.	Thequenondahy [or Thequenoudahy.]
Stadaconé.	Stagoattem.
Deganonda.	Agouchonda.
Thegnignoudé [or Theguignondé.]	Ochela.]*

Nota que leur seigneur, nommé Donnacona, a esté à vne terre, où ilz sont vne lune à aller avecques leurs barques, depuis Canada jusques à ladicte terre, en laquelle il y croist force cannelle et girofle^y.

Note that their chief named Donnacona has been to a country distant from Canada by canoe one moon, in which land grow much cinnamon and clover.

Ilz appellent ladicté canelle	They call this cinnamon	Adotathny ^s .
Le girofle	Clover	Canonotha.

^s P has, *Addathy*.

^t P has, *Addagnin*.

^u P has, *Adhoasseue*.

^v C has, *Estahagoua* or *Estahagona*.

^w C has, *Hougneuda*.

^x C has, *Hocquehin*.

^y P has: "Ceulx de Canada disent qu'il fault vne lune a nauiger depuis Hochelaga, iusques à vne terre ou se prend la cannelle & le girofle;" C gives: "Nota qu'il fault vne lune à naviguer avecques leurs barques depuis Hochelaga pour aller à la terre où se prent ladicté canelle et girofle."

^z P has, *Adhotathny*; C, *Adothathny*.

CARTIER'S THIRD VOYAGE
1541

The text here given is that first published in *The Third and last Volume of the Voyages, Navigations, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation*, etc. Collected by Richard Hakluyt, Preacher, and sometimes student of Christ-Church in Oxford, pp. 232-237, London, 1600.

The words in square brackets are merely explanatory.

CARTIER'S THIRD VOYAGE, 1541.

THE THIRD VOYAGE OF DISCOVERY MADE BY
CAPTAINE JAQUES CARTIER, 1540¹. VNTO THE
COUNTREYS OF CANADA, HOCHELAGA, AND
SAGUENAY.

King Francis the first having heard the report of Captaine Cartier his Pilot generall in his two former Voyages of discovery, as well by writing as by word of mouth, touching that which hee had found and seene in the Westernne partes discovered by him in the parts of Canada and Hochelaga, and having also seene and talked with the people, which the sayd Cartier had brought out of those Countreys, whereof one was king of Canada, whose name was Donnacona and others: which after that they had bene a long time in France and Britaine² were baptized at their owne desire and request³, and died in the sayd countrey of Britaine². And albeit his Maiestie was advertized by the sayd Cartier of the death and decease of all the people which were brought over by him (which were tenne in number) saving one little girle about tenne yeeres old⁴, yet he resolved to send the sayd Cartier his Pilot thither againe, with John Francis de la Roche⁵, Knight, Lord of Roberval⁶, whome hee appointed his Lieutenant and Governour in the Countreys of Canada and Hochelaga⁷, and the sayd Cartier Captaine generall and leader of the shippes⁸, that they might

¹ The true date is 1541. *Vid.* p. 264 note 1. Easter fell that year on 17 April.

² Brittany. *Cf.* p. 179 *supra* note 20.

³ *Vid.* *Collection de manuscrits relatifs à la Nouvelle France*, I, 29-30. Quebec, 1883 in 4°. ⁴ *Vid.* pp. 132, 143 and 191-192 *supra*.

⁵ His name was Jean François de La Roque, seigneur de Roberval.

⁶ A small village near the forest of Compiègne in the department of the Oise.

⁷ Roberval's commission dated January 15, 1541 (N. St.) will be found in Harrisse, *Notes sur la Nouvelle France*, 243-253 and also in *Collection de manuscrits relatifs à la Nouvelle France*, I, 30-36.

⁸ Cartier's commission dated October 17, 1540 will be found in Grant's *Lescarbot*, II, 182-187 and in Michelant et Ramé, *Voyage de Jacques Cartier au Canada en 1534*, 2^{ème} partie, 12-17, Paris, 1865.

discover more then was done before in the former voyages, and attaine (if it were possible) unto the knowledge of the Countrey of Saguenay¹, whereof the people brought by Cartier, as is declared, made mention unto the King, that there were great riches, and very good countreys. And the King caused a certaine summe of money to be delivered² to furnish out the sayd voyage with five shippes: which thing was performed by the sayd Monsieur Roberval and Cartier. After that they had agreed together to rigge the sayd five ships at Saint Malo in Britaine³, where the two former voyages had beene prepared and set forth. And the said Monsieur Roberval sent Cartier thither for the same purpose. And after that Cartier had caused the said five ships to bee built and furnished and set in good order, Monsieur Roberval came downe to S. Malo and found the ships fallen downe to the roade, with their yards acrossse full ready to depart and set saile, staying for nothing else but the comming of the Generall, and the payment of the furniture⁴. And because Monsieur Roberval the kings lieutenant had not as yet his artillery, powder and munitions and other things necessary come downe, which he had provided for the voyage, in the Countreys of Champaigne⁵ and Normandie⁶; and because the said things were very necessary, and that hee was loth to depart without them, he determined to depart from S. Malo to Roan⁷, and to prepare a ship or two at Honfleur⁸, whither he thought his things were come: And that the said Cartier shoulde depart with the five shippes which he had furnished, and should goe before. Considering also that the said Ca[r]tier had received letters from the king, whereby hee did expresly charge him to depart and set sayle immediatly upon the sight and receipt thereof, on payne of incurring his displeasure, and to lay all the fault

¹ "Which is beyond y^e saults," adds Hakluyt in a marginal note wherein he merely repeats the statement made farther on in this name Relation (p. 256). *Vid.* also pp. 170, 200 *et seq.*

² Cf. Michelant et Ramé, *op. cit.* (1865), 2^{ème} partie, 25: "avoir esté ordonné . . . quarante-cinq mil livres tournois pour emploïer et convertir aux choses necessaires pour telle espedition," etc.

³ Brittany.

⁴ In the sense of the goods furnished.

⁵ The old province between Troyes and Reims.

⁶ The old province of which Rouen was the capital.

⁷ Rouen, the capital of Normandy.

⁸ At the mouth of the Seine opposite Havre.

on him¹. And after the conclusion of these things, and the said Monsieur Roberval had taken muster and view of the gentlemen, souldiers, and mariners which were retained and chosen for the performance of the sayd voyage, hee gave unto Captaine Cartier full authoritie to depart and goe before, and to governe all things as if he had been there in person: and himselfe departed to Honfleur to make his farther preparation. After these things thus dispatched, the winde comming faire, the foresayd five ships set sayle together well furnished and victualled for two yeare, the 23. of May, 1540². And we sailed so long with contrary winds and continuall torments, which fell out by reason of our late departure, that wee were on the sea with our sayd five ships full three moneths before wee could arrive at the Port and Haven of Canada, without ever having in all that time 30. houres of good wind to serve us to keepe our right course: so that our five shippes through those stormes lost company one of another, all save two that kept together, to wit that wherein the Captaine¹ was, and the other wherein went the Vicount of Beaupre³, untill at length at the ende of one moneth wee met all together at the Haven of Carpont⁴ in Newfoundland. But the length of time which we were in passing betweene Britayne⁵ and Newfoundland was the cause that we stood in great neede of water, because of the cattell, as well Goates, Hogges, as other beastes which we caried for breede in the Countrey, which wee were constrained to water with Sider and other drinke. Now therefore because we were the space of three moneths in sayling on the sea, and staying in Newfoundland, wayting for Monsieur Roberval, and taking in of fresh water and other things necessary, wee arrived not before the Haven of Saincte Croix in Canada⁶, (where in the former voyage we had remayned eight moneths) untill the 23. day of August⁷. In which place

¹ Cartier.

² The real date is 1541. The mistake doubtless arose from the year being reckoned from Easter to Easter.

³ Probably Guyon des Granches, sieur de Beauprest or Beaupré and brother of Cartier's wife Catherine des Granches. *Vid.* Joüon des Longrais, *op. cit.*, 12.

⁴ Grand-Kirpon between Kirpon island and Newfoundland. *Vid.* p. 10 *supra*.

⁵ Brittany.

⁶ The river St. Charles. *Vid.* pp. 123-124 *supra*.

⁷ 1541.

the people of the Countrey came to our shippes, making shew of ioy for our arrivall, and namely he came thither which had the rule and government of the Countrey of Canada, named Agona¹, which was appointed king there by Donacona, when in the former voyage we carried him [Donnacona] into France²: And hee³ came to the Captaines ship with 6. or 7. boates⁴, and with many women and children. And after the sayd Agona had inquired of the Captaine where Donacona and the rest were, the Captaine answered him, That Donacona was dead in France, and that his body rested in the earth, and that the rest stayed there as great Lords, and were married, and would not returne backe into their Countrey: the said Agona made no shewe of anger at all these speeches: and I thinke he tooke it so well because he remained Lord and Governour of the countrey by the death of the said Donacona. After which conference the said Agona tooke a piece of tanned leather of a yellow skin edged about with *Esno-guy*⁵ (which is their riches and the thing which they esteeme most precious, as wee esteeme gold) which was upon his head in stead of a crowne, and he put the same on the head of our Captaine, and tooke from his wrists two bracelets of *Esnoguy*, and put them upon the Captaines armes, colling⁶ him about the necke and shewing unto him great signes of ioy: which was all dissimulation, as afterward it wel appeared. The captaine [Cartier] tooke his [Agona's] said crowne of leather and put it againe upon his [Agona's] head, and gave him and his wives certaine smal presents, signifying unto him, that he had brought certaine new things, which afterward he would bestow upon him: for which the sayd Agona thanked the Captaine. And after that he [Cartier] had made him [Agona] and his company eat and drinke, they departed and returned to the shore with their boates. After which things the sayd Captaine [Cartier] went with two of his boates up the river, beyond Canada⁷ and the Port of Sainte Croix,⁸ to view a Haven

¹ *Vid.* pp. 220 *et seq.* *supra.*

² *Vid.* p. 227 *supra.*

³ Agona.

⁴ Canoes.

⁵ Wampum. *Vid.* p. 158 *supra.*

⁶ Hugging.

⁷ *Vid.* p. 103 *supra* note 69.

⁸ The river St. Charles. *Vid.* pp. 123-124 *supra.*

and a small river, which is about 4. leagues higher¹: which he found better and more commoditous to ride in and lay his ships, then the former². And therefore he returned and caused all his ships to be brought before the sayd river³, and at a lowe water he caused his Ordinance to bee planted to place his ships in more saftie, which he meant to keepe and stay in the Countrey which were three: which hee did the day following and the rest⁴ remayned in the roade in the midst of the river⁵ (In which place⁶ the victuals and other furniture were discharged, which they had brought) from the 26. of August untill the second of September, what time they departed to returne for S. Malo, in which ships he sent backe Mace Jolloberte⁷, his brother in lawe, and Steven Noel⁸, his Nephew, skilfull and excellent pilots, with letters unto the king, and to advertise him what had bene done and found: and how Monsieur de Roberval was not yet come, and that hee feared that by occasion of contrary winds and tempests he was driven backe againe into France⁹.

¹ The river of cape Rouge which enters the St. Lawrence from the north at a point nine miles above Quebec.

² The river St. Charles where they had passed the winter of 1535-1536.

³ Cape Rouge river.

⁴ The sense of this passage seems to be that at low water he had the cannon taken out of three vessels and planted on shore while the vessels were moved into the Cape Rouge river. The other two vessels, which subsequently returned to France, were called the *Saint-Brieuc* and the *Georges*. *Vid.* Archivo General de Simancas, Estado., leg. 373, fol. 42.

⁵ St. Lawrence.

⁶ At the river of cape Rouge.

⁷ Macé Jalobert. *Vid.* pp. 93-94 *supra* note 18.

⁸ Estienne Nouel, the second child of Jehanne Cartier and Jan Nouel, born August 21, 1510.

⁹ Cartier himself had encountered such exceedingly bad weather that he supposed Roberval, being nearer home, had turned back. These two vessels reached St. Malo on October 3. Jalobert at once set off to inform Francis I of Cartier's safe arrival in the river and to learn what were the king's wishes about taking re-inforcements to Cartier early in the year 1542. *Vid.*, the letter of the Spanish spy written on November 12 from Nantes in Archivo General de Simancas, Estado, leg. 373, fols. 40 and 42.

THE DESCRIPTION OF THE AFORESAID RIVER AND HAVEN¹.

The sayd River¹ is small, not past 50. pases broad, and shippes drawing three fathoms water may enter in at a full sea: and at a low water there is nothing but a chanell of a foote deepe or thereabout. On both sides of the said River there are very good and faire grounds, full of as faire and mightie trees as any be in the world, and divers sorts, which are above tenne fathoms higher then the rest, and there is one kind of tree above three fathoms about, which they in the Countrey call *Hanneda*², which hath the most excellent vertue of all the trees of the world, whereof I will make mention hereafter³. More[o]ver there are great store of Okes the most excellent that ever I saw in my life, which were so laden with Mast⁴ that they cracked againe: besides this there are fairer Arables⁵, Cedars, Beeches, and other trees, then grow in France: and hard unto this wood on the South side the ground is all covered with Vines, which we found laden with grapes as blacke as Mulberies, but they be not so kind⁶ as those of France because the Vines bee not tilled, and because they grow of their owne accord. More[o]ver there are many white Thornes, which beare leaves as bigge as oken leaves, and fruit like unto Medlers⁷. To bee short, it is as good a Countrey to plow and mannure as a man should find or desire. We sowed seedes here of our Countrey, as Cabages, Naveaus⁸, Lettises and others, which grew and sprong up out of the ground in eight dayes. The mouth of the river⁹ is toward the South, and it windeth Northward like unto a snake: and at the mouth of it toward the East there is a high and steepe cliff¹⁰, where we made a way in maner of a payre of staires, and aloft we made a Fort to keepe¹¹ the nether Fort and the ships, and all things that might passe as well by the great¹² as by this small river¹³. Moreover a man may behold a great extension of ground apt for tillage, straite and handsome and somewhat

¹ The river of cape Rouge. ² The hemlock. *Vid.* p. 213 *supra*.

³ If the author did so, that portion of his narrative has not been preserved.

⁴ Acorns. ⁵ Maples, in French *érables*. ⁶ Mild or sweet.

⁷ Medlar, the fruit of the *mespilus*, a genus of large, ornamental fruit trees.

⁸ "Or small Turneps," as stated on p. 255. ⁹ Of Cape Rouge.

¹⁰ This high promontory is cape Rouge, so called from the reddish argillaceous lime-stone of which it is almost wholly composed. *Cf.* Heriot, *op. cit.*, 98.

¹¹ Defend.

¹² The St. Lawrence.

¹³ Of Cape Rouge.

enclining toward the South, as easie to be brought to tillage as I would desire, and very well replenished with faire Okes and other trees of great beauty, no thicker then the Forrests of France. Here wee set twenty men to worke, which in one day had laboured about an acre and an halfe of the said ground, and sowed it part with Naveaus or small Turneps, which at the ende of eight dayes, as I said before, sprang out of the earth. And upon that high cliffe wee found a faire fountaine very neere the sayd Fort: adioyning whereunto we found good store of stones, which we esteemed to be Diamants¹. On the other side of the said mountaine and at the foote thereof, which is towards the great River² is all along a goodly Myne of the best yron in the world³, and it reacheth even hard unto our Fort, and the sand which we tread on is perfect refined Myne, ready to be put into the fornace. And on the waters side we found certaine leaves of fine gold as thicke as a mans nayle. And Westward of the said River⁴ there are, as hath bene sayd, many faire trees; and toward the water a goodly Medow full of as faire and goodly grasse as ever I sawe in any Medowe in France; and betweene the sayd Medow and the Wood are great store of Vines: and beyond the said Vines the land groweth full of Hempe which groweth of it selfe, which is as good as possibly may be seene, and as strong. And at the ende of the sayd Medow within an hundred pases there is a rising ground, which is of a kind of slate stone blacke and thicke, wherein are veines of mynerall matter, which shewe like gold and silver: and throughout all that stone there are great graines of the sayd Myne. And in some places we have found stones like Diamants, the most faire, polished and excellently cut that it is possible for a man to see. When the Sunne shineth upon them, they glister as it were sparkles of fire.

¹ Doubtless the lime-stone of cape Rouge. Cf. Champlain's *Works*, I, 129-130: "Il y a, le long de la coste dudit Quebec, des diamans dans des rochers d'ardoise qui sont meilleurs que ceux d'Alançon:" and Thevet, *Cosmog. univ.*, II, 1015: "Davantage s'y trouuent des pierres, tant en plat pays que aux montaignes, lesquelles sont si belles, & bien taillees par la seule nature, que les premiers qui les trouuerent, pensoient desia, comme ils m'ont dit, estre riches, croyans que ce fussent de vrays Diamens, desquels elles ont la couleur & figure, mais estans de pardeça, ils se virent trompez; d'où est venu le Proverbe, Voila vn Diamant de Canada."

² St. Lawrence.

³ Some bits of the lime-stone of cape Rouge look slightly like iron-ore when first broken off.

⁴ Of cape Rouge.

HOW AFTER THE DEPARTURE OF THE TWO SHIPPES WHICH WERE SENT BACKE INTO BRIT-TAINE¹, AND THAT THE FORT WAS BEGUN TO BE BUILDED, THE CAPTAINE PREPARED TWO BOATES TO GOE UP THE GREAT RIVER² TO DISCOVER THE PASSAGE OF THE THREE SAULTS OR FALLES OF THE RIVER.

The sayd Captaine having dispatched two ships to returne to carry newes, according as hee had in charge from the king³, and that the Fort was begun to be builded, for preservation of their victuals and other things, determined with the Vicount of Beaupre⁴, and other Gentlemen, Masters and Pilots chosen for counsaile, to make a voyage with two boates furnished with men and victuals to goe as farre as Hochelaga⁵, of purpose to view and understand the fashion of the *Saults* of water, which are to be passed to goe to Saguenay⁶, that hee [Cartier] might be the readier in the spring to passe farther, and in the Winter time to make all things needefull in a readinesse for their businesse. The fore-said boates being made ready, the Captaine and Martine de Painpont⁷, with other Gentlemen and the remnant of the Mariners departed from the sayd place of Charlesburg Royal⁸ the seventh day of September in the yeere aforesayd 1540⁹. And the Vicount of Beaupre⁴ stayed behind for the garding and government of all things in the Fort. And as they went up the river¹⁰, the Captaine went to see the Lord of Hochelay¹¹, which dwelleth betweene

¹ Brittany.

² St. Lawrence. This was the passage to the kingdom of Saguenay. *Vid.* p. 170 *supra*.

³ Francis I. *Cf.* p. 253 note 9.

⁴ *Cf.* p. 251 note 3.

⁵ *Cf.* p. 152 *et seq. supra*.

⁶ The mysterious kingdom of the Saguenay. *Cf.* pp. 170 *et seq.* and pp. 200 *et seq.*

⁷ Paimpont a village in the forest of the same name not far from Rennes in the Department of Ille-et-Vilaine.

⁸ The fort was doubtless so called after Charles Duke of Orleans, the second surviving son of Francis I. *Vid.* p. 232 *supra* note 67. The Le Vasseur map has *Fort Henri Charles*, thus giving the names of both sons.

⁹ 1541.

¹⁰ St. Lawrence.

¹¹ An Indian village in the neighbourhood of the present Portneuf, thirty-two miles from Quebec. *Vid.* pp. 142 and 196 *supra*.

Canada¹ and Hochelaga: which in the former voyage had given unto the said Captaine a little girle, and had oftentimes enformed him of the treasons which Taignoagny and Domagaya (whom the Captaine in his former voyage had caried into France) would have wrought against him². In regard of which his curtesie the said Captaine would not passe by without visiting of him, and to let him understand that the Captaine thought himselfe beholding unto him, hee gave unto him two yong boyes, and left them with him to learne their language, and bestowed upon him a cloake of Paris red, which cloake was set with yealow and white buttons of Tinne, and small belles. And withall hee gave him two Basins of Laton³, and certaine hachets and knives: whereat the sayde Lord seemed highly to reioyce, and thanked the Captaine. This done, the Captaine and his company departed from that place: And wee sailed with so prosperous a wind, that we arrived the eleventh day of the moneth [of September 1541] at the first *Sault* of water⁴, which is two leagues distant from the Towne of Tuto-naguy⁵. And after wee were arrived there, wee determined to goe and passe as farre up as it was possible with one of the boates, and that the other should stay there till it returned: and wee double manned her to rowe up against the course or streame of the said *Sault*. And after wee had passed some part of the way from our other boate, wee found badde ground and great rockes, and so great a current, that wee could not possibly passe any further with our Boate⁶. And the Captaine⁷ resolved to goe by land to see the nature and fashion of the *Sault*. And after that we were come on shore, wee founde hard by the water side a way and beaten path going toward the sayde *Saultes*, by which wee tooke

¹ The region about the mouth of the St. Charles. *Vid.* p. 103 *supra*, note 69.

² *Vid. supra* pp. 142-143 and 188.

³ Latten, a kind of bronze used in the middle ages for making basins, candlesticks, etc.

⁴ The rapid of St. Mary.

⁵ This is the first appearance of this name which resembles the Huron word, *Tionontaté*, "people byond the mountains." It seems to have been a new Huron-Iroquois village somewhere near the site of the old Hochelaga. See plate XIV, and *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, VII, No. 24, p. 6. Boston, 1894. Cf. also P. D. Clarke, *op. cit.*, 1-2; Schoolcraft, *op. cit.*, 91-94; *The Jesuit Relations*, XXII, 212-14; Lescarbot, *op. cit.*, 1609, pp. 700 and 865; and especially Faillon, *op. cit.*, I, note XVIII, 524-533.

⁶ The Lachine rapid. Cf. p. 169 *supra*, note 85.

⁷ Cartier.

our way. And on the sayd way, and soone after we found an habitation of people which made us great cheere, and entertained us very friendly. And after that he [Cartier] had signified unto them, that wee were going toward the *Saults*, and that wee desired to goe to Saguenay¹, foure yong men went along with us to shewe us the way, and they brought us so farre that wee came to another village or habitation of good people, which dwell over against the second *Sault*², which came and brought us of their victuals, as Pottage and Fish, and offered us of the same. After that the Captaine had enquired of them as well by signes as wordes, how many more *Saults* wee had to passe to goe to Saguenay, and what distance and way it was thither, this people shewed us and gave us to understand, that wee were at the second *Sault*, and that there was but one more to passe³, that the River⁴ was not navigable to goe to Saguenay, and that the sayd *Sault*⁵ was but a third part farther then we had travailed, shewing us the same with certaine little stickes, which they layd upon the ground in a certaine distance, and afterwarde layde other small branches betweene both, representing the *Saults*. And by the sayde marke, if their saying be true, it can be but sixe leagues by land to passe the sayd *Saults*.

HERE AFTER FOLLOWETH THE FIGURE OF THE THREE SAULTS⁶.

After that we had bene advertised by the sayde people, of the things abovementioned, both because the day was farre spent, and we had neither drunke nor eaten the same day, we concluded to returne unto our boats, and we came thither⁷, where we found great store of people to the number of 400 persons or thereabout, which seemed to give us very good entertainment and to reioyce of our comming: And therefore our Captaine gave eche of them certaine small trifles, as combs, brooches of tynne and copper, and other smal toyes, and unto the chiefe men every one

¹ The kingdom of the Saguenay. *Vid.* p. 200 *supra*.

² The Lachine rapid.

³ Since according to the second Relation (p. 200) the best route to the kingdom of the Saguenay was up the Ottawa river, this would be the Long Sault with the Carillon.

⁴ Ottawa.

⁵ The Long Sault.

⁶ It is unfortunate that Hakluyt did not give a reproduction of this drawing.

⁷ Back to the foot of the St. Mary rapid where the boats had been left.

his litle hatchet & hooke¹, whereat they made certaine cries and ceremonies of ioy. But a man must not trust them for all their faire ceremonies and signes of ioy, for if they had thought they had bene too strong for us, then would they have done their best to have killed us, as we understood afterward. This being done, we returned with our boats, and passed by the dwelling of the Lord of Hochelay, with whom the Captaine had left the two youths as hee came up the river, thinking to have found him: But hee coulede find no body save one of his sonnes, who tolde the Captaine that hee² was gone to Maisouna³, as our boyes⁴ also told us, saying, that it was two dayes since he departed. But in truth hee was gone to Canada⁵ to conclude with Agona⁶, what they should doe against us. And when we were arrived at our Fort⁷, wee understoode by our people, that the Savages of the Countrey came not any more about our Fort as they were accustomed, to bring us fish, and that they were in a wonderful doubt and feare of us. Wherefore our Captaine [Cartier], having bene advertised by some of our men which had bene at Stadacona⁸ to visite them, that there were a wonderfull number of the Countrey people assembled together, caused all things in our fortresse to bee set in good order: etc.

THE REST IS WANTING⁹.

Underneath the aforesaid unperfite relation that which followeth is written in a letter sent to M. John Growte¹⁰ student in Paris from Jaques Noel of S. Malo, the grand nephew of Jaques Cartier¹¹.

¹ A kind of sickle.

² The Indian chief of Hochelay.

³ This name does not occur elsewhere.

⁴ The French boys left by Cartier on the way up. *Vid.* p. 257.

⁵ The region about the mouth of the St. Charles. *Vid.* p. 103, note 69.

⁶ *Vid.* p. 252 *supra*.

⁷ Charlesbourg Royal at the mouth of the river of Cape Rouge. *Vid.* p. 256 *supra*.

⁸ This place was therefore still in existence. *Vid.* p. 124 *supra*, note 67.

⁹ This text will also be found in the reprints of Hakluyt's, *Principall Navigations*, III, 286-290, London 1810; XIII, 146-154, Edinburgh, 1889; and VIII, 263-272, Glasgow, 1904.

¹⁰ Probably Jean Grout, sieur de La Ruaudaye, a well-known St. Malo family. Cf. Joüon des Longrais, *op. cit.*, 144.

¹¹ He was the son of Estienne Nouel mentioned above (p. 253) and was born February 5, 1551.

I can write nothing else unto you of any thing that I can recover of the writings of Captaine Jaques Cartier my uncle diseased¹, although I have made search in all places that I could possibly in this Towne²: saving of a certaine booke made in maner of a sea Chart, which was drawne by the hand of my said uncle, which is in the possession of master Cremeur³: which booke is passing well marked and drawne for all the River of Canada⁴, whereof I am well assured, because I my selfe have knowledge thereof as farre as to the *Saults*, where I have bene: The height of which *Saults* is in 44. degrees⁵. I found in the sayd Chart beyond the place where the River is divided in twaine in the midst of both the branches of the said river somewhat nearest that arme which runneth toward the Northwest⁶, these words following written in the hand of Jaques Cartier.

By the people of Canada and Hochelaga it was said, That here is the land of Saguenay, which is rich and wealthy in precious stones.

And about an hundred leagues under the same I found written these two lines following in the said Carde enclining toward the Southwest. *Here in this Countrey are Cinamon and Cloves, which they call in their language Canodeta*⁷.

Touching the effect of my booke whereof I spake unto you, it is made after the maner of a sea Chart, which I have delivered to my two sonnes Michael and John, which at this present are in Canada. If at their returne, which will be God willing about Magdalene tyde⁸, they have learned any new thing worthy the writing, I will not faile to advertise you thereof.

Your loving Friend,

Jaques Noel⁹.

¹ Cartier died on the first of September, 1557. Joüon des Longrais, *op. cit.*, 106-7. The statement in the text would lead one to infer that Cartier looked upon himself as the author of these Relations. Cf. Faillon, *op. cit.*, I, note XVII, 523-4, and Introduction, pp. XII-XIII.

² St. Malo.

³ Jan Jocet, sieur de Cremeur, then Constable of St. Malo. *Vid.*, Joüon des Longrais, *op. cit.*, 147, note 2.

⁴ The St. Lawrence. Cf. p. 108, note 91. ⁵ The Lachine rapid lies in 45° 25'.

⁶ The Ottawa, which enters the St. Lawrence just above the Lachine rapid.

⁷ Cf. pp. 203 and 246 *supra*.

⁸ July 22; but the year in which the letter was written is not given.

⁹ *Vid.* p. 259, note 11. This text will also be found in the various reprints of Hakluyt, vol. III, 290-291, London, 1810; vol. XIII, 155-156, Edinburgh, 1889; and VIII, 272-273 Glasgow, 1904.

ROBERVAL'S VOYAGE, 1542-1543

The text here given is that first published in *The Third and last Volume of the Voyages, Navigations, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation*, etc., collected by Richard Hakluyt, pp. 240-242 London, 1600.

ROBERVAL'S VOYAGE, 1542-1543

THE VOYAGE OF JOHN FRANCIS DE LA ROCHE¹, KNIGHT, LORD OF ROBERVAL² TO THE COUNTRIES OF CANADA³, SAGUENAI⁴, AND HOCHELAGA⁵, WITH THREE TALL SHIPS, AND TWO HUNDRED PERSONS, BOTH MEN, WOMEN, AND CHILDREN, BEGUN IN APRIL, 1542. IN WHICH PARTS HE REMAYNED THE SAME SUMMER, AND ALL THE NEXT WINTER.

Sir John Francis de la Roche, knight, lord of Roberval, appointed by the king⁶ as his Lieutenant general in the countreys of Canada, Saguenay, and Hochelaga, furnished 3 tall Ships, chiefly at the kings cost⁷: And having in his fleete 200. persons, aswel men as women, accompanied with divers gentlemen of qualitie, as namely with Monsieur Saine-terre his lieutenant⁸, l'Espiney his Ensigne⁹, captain Guinecourt, Monsieur Noirefontaine¹⁰, Dieu lamont, Frote¹¹, la Brosse¹², Francis de Mire, la Salle¹³, and Roieze and John Alfonse of Xanctoigne¹⁴ an excellent pilot,

¹ Jean François de La Roque.

² *Vid.* p. 249, notes 5 and 6.

³ *Vid.* p. 103 *supra*, note 69.

⁴ *Vid.* p. 170 *supra*, note 92.

⁵ *Vid.* pp. 148 *supra et seq.*

⁶ Francis I. *Cf.* p. 249 *supra*, notes 7 and 8.

⁷ *Cf.* p. 250, note 2.

⁸ Paul d'Aussillon, seigneur de Sauveterre in the Department of Tarn, near Castres. *Vid.* *Biblioth. Nat.*, *Pièces orig.*, 147; and *Harrisse Notes*, etc., 254-258 and 272-77.

⁹ Perhaps Nicolas de Lespinay, seigneur de Neufville sur le Wault. There was another branch at La Fraye not far from Roberval. *Vid.* *Biblioth. Nat.*, *Pièces originales*, vol. 1697, Nos. 5 and 6.

¹⁰ Probably one of the children of Jean de Noirefontaine, seigneur du Buisson et du Vouciennes, two places near Châlons-sur-Marne. *Vid.* *Biblioth. Nat.*, *Dossiers Bleus* 496, n° 12846.

¹¹ Probably a son of Jacques de Frotté, President of the Parliament of Paris, whose wife's mother was a La Brosse.

¹² Perhaps a son of Pierre de La Brosse. *Vid.* *Biblioth. Nat.*, *Cabinet d'Hozier* 68, n° 1760.

¹³ Probably Jean de La Salle, "homme d'armes de la compagnie dont avoit charge et conduite Monsieur le Baron de Curton," and who by a commission dated February 16, 1542 (N. St.) was ordered to muster this company at Tréguier not far from St. Malo. *Vid.* *Biblioth. Nat.*, *Carrés d'Hozier* 569, fol. 263.

¹⁴ Jean Alfonse of Saintonge. *Vid.* *Biggar, op. cit.*, 222-226.

set sayle from Rochel the 16. of April 1542¹. The same day about noone we came athwart of Chefe de boys², where we were enforced to stay the night following. On Munday the seventeenth of the sayde Moneth wee departed from Chefe de boys. The winde served us notably for a time: but within fewe days it came quite contrary, which hindered our iourney for a long space: For wee were suddenly enforced to turne backe, and to seeke Harbrough in Belle Isle, on the coast of Bretaine³, where wee stayed so long⁴, and had such contrary weather by the way⁵, that wee could not reach Newfound lande, untill the seventh of June. The eight of this Moneth wee entred into the Rode of Saint John, where wee founde seventene Shippes of fishers⁶. While wee made somewhat long abode heere, Jaques Cartier and his company returning from Canada, whither hee was sent with five sayles the yeere before⁷, arrived in the very same Harbour. Who, after hee had done his duetie to our Generall, tolde him that hee had brought certaine Diamonts, and a quantitie of Golde ore, which was found in the Countrey. Which ore the Sunday next ensuing⁸ was tryed in a Furnace, and found to be good.

Furthermore, hee⁹ enformed the Generall¹⁰ that hee⁹ could not with his small company withstand the Savages, which went about dayly to annoy him¹¹: and that this was the cause of his

¹ La Rochelle on the west coast of France. The date of 1542 shows that the year 1540 given in Cartier's third Relation (p. 249 *supra*) should be 1541, since they met in the next year 1542 in the harbour of St. John's. They left on a Sunday.

² *Chef de Baie*, the point of the mainland at the north-west corner of the bay of La Rochelle. Cf. Lescarbot, *op. cit.*, 1609, p. 558: "& à Chef-de-bois qui sont les endroits où les navires se mettent à l'abri des vents."

³ Belle Isle on the coast of Brittany off the mouth of the Loire, is nine miles and a quarter long by five miles wide at its broadest part. The two main harbours lying on the west coast are Port Sauzons and Le Palais.

⁴ We are not told when they finally set sail.

⁵ This is on the voyage across the Atlantic.

⁶ From the time of the voyages of the Cabots and of the Corte-Reals in 1498 and in 1501-3, St. John's had become a great centre for the cod-fishing trade. *Vid.* the *Revue Hispanique*, X, 534 *et seq.*

⁷ That is 1541 as mentioned above pp. 249 *et seq.*

⁸ Probably Sunday, June 18.

⁹ Cartier.

¹⁰ Roberval who was his superior. Cartier had merely been appointed the Master-pilot of the expedition. *Vid.* p. 249 *supra*, notes 7 and 8.

¹¹ Cf. p. 259 *supra*.

returne into France. Neverthelesse, hee and his company commended the Countrey to bee very rich and fruitfull. But when our Generall being furnished with sufficient forces, commaunded him to goe backe againe with him, hee [Cartier] and his company, mooved as it seemeth with ambition, because they would have all the glory of the discoverie of those partes themselves, stole privily away the next night from us, and without taking their leaves, departed home for Bretaine¹.

Wee spent the greatest part of June in this Harbour of Saint John, partly in furnishing our selves with fresh water, whereof wee stode in very great neede by the way², and partly in composing and taking up³ of a quarell betweene some of our Countreymen, and certaine Portugals⁴. At length, about the last of the aforesayde Moneth⁵, wee departed hence, and entred into the Grand Baye⁶, and passed by the Isle of Ascension⁷: and finally arrived foure leagues Westward of the Isle of Orleans⁸. In this place wee found a convenient Harbour for our shipping⁹, where wee cast anchor, went a shoare with our people, and chose out a convenient place to fortifie our selves in, fitte to commaund the mayne River¹⁰, and of strong situation against all invasion of enemies. Thus towarde the ende of July, wee brought our victuals and other munitions and provisions on shore, and began to travaile in fortifying of our selves¹¹.

¹ Brittany. This dukedom had only been formally annexed to France in 1532.

² That is they had run short of fresh water on the voyage out.

³ Settling and putting an end to.

⁴ Portuguese fishermen no doubt formed a portion of the "seventeene shippes of fishers" mentioned above p. 264.

⁵ June, 1542.

⁶ The gulf of St. Lawrence inside the strait of Belle Isle. Cf. p. 76 *supra*.

⁷ Anticosti, which Cartier had named the "island of Assumption," (p. 104 *supra*). Alfonse, who was with Roberval, also calls it Ascension. Appendix II, p. 286 *infra*.

⁸ So named by Cartier. *Vid.* p. 126 and 232 *supra*. Roberval doubtless took possession of the buildings erected by Cartier at Cape Rouge.

⁹ The river of Cape Rouge.

¹⁰ The St. Lawrence. This shows they were at the mouth of a tributary of that river and the one "foure leagues Westward of the Isle of Orleans" is the river of Cape Rouge.

¹¹ They had probably to do little more than repair Cartier's buildings, which had consisted (Cf. p. 254) of a fort on the top of Cape Rouge and of a "nether fort" below. The absence of all mention of these in this Relation is significant.

OF THE FORT OF FRANCE-ROY, AND THAT WHICH
WAS DONE THERE.

Having described the beginning, the midst, and the end of the Voyage made by Monsieur Roberval in the Countreyes of Canada, Hochelaga, Saguenay, and other Countreyes in the West partes: He sayled so farre, (as it is declared in other bookes) that hee arrived in the sayde Countrey, accompanied with two hundred persons, souldiers, mariners, and common people, with all furniture¹ necessary for a Fleete. The sayde Generall² at his first arrivall built³ a fayre Fort, neere and somewhat Westward above Canada⁴, which is very beautifull to beholde, and of great force, situated upon an high mountaine⁵, wherein there were two courtes of buyldings, a great Towre, and another of fortie or fiftie foote long: wherein there were divers Chambers, an Hall, a Kitchine, houses of office⁶, Sellers high and lowe, and neere unto it were an Oven⁷ and Milles, and a stoove to warme men in, and a Well before the house. And the buylding was situated upon the great River of Canada, called *France prime* by Monsieur Roberval⁸. There was also at the foote of the mountaine another lodging, part whereof was a great Towre of two stories high, two courtes of good buylding, where at the first all our victuals, and whatsoever was brought with us was sent to be kept⁹: and neere unto that Towre there is another small river¹⁰. In these two places above and beneath, all the meaner sort was lodged.

¹ Stores.

² Roberval.

³ This seems unlikely, unless Cartier's buildings had been destroyed at his departure.

⁴ Quebec and the mouth of the St. Charles. *Vid.* p. 103 *supra*, note 69.

⁵ Cape Rouge.

⁶ "A name given" says Worcester, *Dictionary*, s.v., "to the pantry, scullery, wash-house, store-rooms, and necessary out-houses, conveniences and subordinate buildings of a detached dwelling-house."

⁷ Cf. Ferland, *op. cit.*, I, 44, note 1: "Des excavations récentes [1861], près de l'embouchure de la rivière du Cap-Rouge, ont fait découvrir, à huit ou neuf pieds audessous de la surface du sol, un four à chaux encore rempli de pierres calcaires, à demi brûlées."

⁸ The St. Lawrence. Cf. p. 108 *supra*, note 91.

⁹ This is tantamount to admitting that on their arrival they installed themselves in Cartier's old "nether fort."

¹⁰ The river of Cape Rouge.

And in the Moneth of August, and in the beginning of September every man was occupied in such woorke as eche one was able to doe. But the fourteenth of September, our aforesayde Generall, sent backe into France two Shippes which had brought his furniture¹, and he appoynted for Admirall Monsieur de Saineterre², and the other captaine was Monsieur Guine-court, to carie newes unto the King, and to come backe againe unto him³ the yeere next ensuing⁴, furnished with victuals and other things, as it should please the King: and also to bring newes out of France how the King accepted certaine Diamants which were sent him⁵, and were found in this countrey.

After these two Shippes were departed, consideration was had how they should doe, and how they might passe out the Winter in this place. First they tooke a view of the victuals, and it was found that they fell out short⁶: and they were scantled⁷ so, that in eche messe⁸ they had but two loaves weighing a pound a piece, and halfe a pound of biefe. They ate Bacon at dinner with halfe a pound of butter: and Biefe at supper, and about two handfuls of Beanes without butter.

On the Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday they did eate dry Cod, and sometimes they did eate it greene⁹ at dinner with butter, and they ate of Porposes and beanes at supper.

About that time the Savages brought us great store of Aloses¹⁰, which is a fish somewhat redde like a Salmon, to get knives and other small trifles for them¹¹.

In the ende many of our people fell sicke of a certaine disease¹² in their legges, reynes¹³, and stomacke, so that they seemed to bee deprived of all their lymmes, and there dyed thereof about fiftie.

Note that the yce began to breake up in April¹⁴.

¹ Stores.

² *Vid.* p. 263 note 8.

³ Roberval.

⁴ 1543.

⁵ This is Roberval's euphemistic way of explaining Cartier's precipitate return in the manner mentioned above p. 265.

⁶ This was doubtless partly due to the three months lost on the voyage out.

⁷ Broken up into small portions.

⁸ That is in the mess below in the building on the river of Cape Rouge and in the one on the cliff above.

⁹ That is uncured.

¹⁰ The common shad.

¹¹ The aloses.

¹² Doubtless the scurvy which had also attacked Cartier's men in 1535-1536. *Vid.* pp. 204 *et seq. supra*.

¹³ The loins.

¹⁴ 1543. That is the ice in the St. Lawrence. *Cf.* p. 217 *supra*.

Monsieur Roberval used very good iustice, and punished every man according to his offence. One whose name was Michael Gaillon, was hanged for his theft. John of Nantes¹ was layde in yrons, and kept prisoner for his offence, and others also were put in yrons, and divers were whipped, as well men as women: by which meanes they lived in quiet.

THE MANERS OF THE SAVAGES.

To declare unto you the state of the Savages, they are people of a goodly stature, and well made, they are very white², but they are all naked: and if they were apparelled as the French are, they would bee as white and as fayre: but they paynt themselves for feare of heat and sunne burning³.

In stead of apparell, they weare skinnnes upon them like mantles; and they have a small payre of breeches, wherewith they cover their privities, as well men as women. They have hosen and shooes of lether excellently made⁴. And they have no shirts: neither cover they their heads, but their hayre is trussed up above the crowne of their heads, and palyted or broyded⁵. Touching their victuals, they eate good meate, but all unsalted, but they drye it, and afterward they broyle it, aswell fish as flesh. They have no certaine dwelling place, and they goe from place to place, as they thinke they may best finde foode⁶, as Aloses⁷ in one place, and other fish, Salmons, Sturgions, Mullets, Surmullets⁸, Barz⁹, Carpes, Eeles, Pinperneaux¹⁰, and other fresh water fish, and store of Porposes. They feede also of Stagges, wilde Bores, Bugles¹¹, Porkespynes¹², and store of other wilde beastes. And there is as great store of Fowle as they can desire.

¹ A large town at the mouth of the Loire.

² The real colour of the Indian is a reddish-brown.

³ Cf. Peter Jones, *op. cit.*, 63.

⁴ *Vid.* p. 181 *supra*. On the Indian moccasin, *vid.* Morgan, *op. cit.*, II, 12, and *ibid.* I, 252 *et seq.* for the other articles of apparel.

⁵ *Vid.* p. 61 *supra*.

⁶ *Vid.* pp. 23 and 62 *supra*.

⁷ The common chad. Cf. p. 267 *supra*.

⁸ The red mullet.

⁹ The maigre.

¹⁰ Perhaps water pimperl, a species of water plant.

¹¹ This was no doubt the moose.

¹² Porcupines.

Touching their bread, they make very good: and it is of great myll: and they live very well; for they take care for nothing else.

They drinke Seale oyle, but this is at their great feasts.

They have a King in every Countrey, and are wonderfull obedient unto him¹: and they doe him honour according unto their maner and fashion. And when they travayle from place to place, they cary all their goods with them in their boates².

The weomen nurse their children with the breast, and they sit continually, and are wrapped about the bellies with skinnnes of furre.

THE VOYAGE OF MONSIEUR ROBERVAL FROM
HIS FORT IN CANADA UNTO SAGUENAY, THE
FIFTH OF JUNE, 1543.

Monsieur Roberval the kings Lieutenant generall in the Countries of Canada, Saguenay, and Hochelaga, departed toward the said province of Saguenay³ on the Tuesday the 5. day of June 1543. after supper: and he with all his furniture⁴ was imbarked to make the sayd voyage. But upon a certaine occasion they lay in the Rode over against the place before mentioned⁵: but on the Wednesday⁶ about sixe of the clocke in the morning they set sayle, and sayled against the streame⁷: in which voyage their whole furniture⁸ was of eight barks⁹, aswell great as small, and to the number of threescore and ten persons, with the afore-sayd Generall¹⁰.

¹ The Indian chief's lack of authority was notorious.

² The birchbark canoes.

³ *Vid.* p. 170 *supra*, note 92.

⁴ Stores.

⁵ The fort of France-Roy at the mouth of the river of Cape Rouge.

⁶ June 6, the following day.

⁷ They consequently went up the St. Lawrence, not down it to the Saguenay river. The choice of the name Roberval for the village on Lake St. John has no foundation in history.

⁸ Flotilla.

⁹ Long-boats which could be worked with oars or sails.

¹⁰ Roberval.

The Generall left behinde him in the aforesayde place and Fort thirtie persons to remayne there untill his returne from Saguenay, which hee appoynted to bee the first of July¹, or else they should returne into France. And hee left there behinde him but two Barkes to cary the sayde thirtie persons, and the furniture which was there, while hee stayed still in the Countrey².

And for effectuating hereof, he left as his Lieutenant a gentleman named Monsieur de Royeze, to whom he gave commission, and charged all men to obey him, and to be at the commandement of the sayd lieutenant.

The victuals which were left for their mayntenance untill the sayd first day of July, were received by the sayd Lieutenant Royeze.

On Thursday the 14. of June Monsieur de l'Espiney, la Brosse, Monsieur Frete³, Monsieur Longeval⁴, and others, returned from the Generall, from the voyage of Saguenay⁵.

And note that eight men and one Barke were drowned and lost, among whom was Monsieur de Noirefontaine⁶, and one named la Vasseur of Constance⁷.

On Tuesday, the 19. of June aforesayd, there came from the Generall, Monsieur de Villeneuve, Talebot, and three others, which brought sixescore pounds weight of their corne, and letters to stay yet untill Magdalentyde, which is the 22. day of July.

The rest of this voyage is wanting⁸.

¹ This shows that the kingdom of Saguenay was thought to lie not far from the mouth of the Ottawa since Roberval expected to reach it, to affect its conquest and to return all in the short space of three weeks.

² That is passed the winter in the kingdom of Saguenay.

³ On p. 263 *supra* he is called *Frote*.

⁴ In 1519 a Robert de Longueval, sieur de Thenelles in the Oise, married the daughter of a Catherine de La Roque, wife of Robert de Hangard. *Vid.* Biblioth. Nat., Cabinet d'Hozier 215, n° 5593.

⁵ They may have left Roberval at the rapid of Lachine. *Cf.* the inscription at that point on plate XIV, p. 224: "iusques icy a esté Mons^r de Roberval."

⁶ *Vid.* p. 263 *supra* note 10.

⁷ More probably Coutance in the Department of the Manche.

⁸ This text will also be found in the reprint of Hakluyt's *Principall Navigations*, III, 294-296, London 1810; in Goldsmid's reprint XIII, 163-168, Edinburgh, 1889; and in that issued in Glasgow in 1904, vol. VIII, 283-289.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I.

THE¹ VOYAGE OF MASTER HORE² AND DIVERS
OTHER GENTLEMEN, TO NEWFOUND LAND, AND
CAPE BRETON, IN THE YEERE 1536, AND IN THE
28. YEERE OF KING HENRY THE EIGHT³.

One Master Hore of London, a man of goodly stature and of great courage, and given to the studie of Cosmographie, in the 28. yeere of king Henry the 8. and in the yeere of our Lord 1536, encouraged divers gentlemen and others, being assisted by the kings favour and good countenance, to accompany him in a voyage of discoverie upon the Northwest partes of America: wherein his perswasions tooke such effect, that within short space many gentlemen of the innes of court, and of [the] Chauncerie, and divers other[s] of good worship, desirous to see the strange things of the world, very willingly entered into the action with him, some of whose names were as followeth: M. Wickes⁴ a gentleman of the West countrey of five hundred markes⁵ by the yeere living. Master Tucke a gentleman of Kent, M. Tuckfield, M. Thomas Butts the sonne of sir William Butts knight, of Norfolke, which is yet alive, and from whose mouth I wrote most of this relation⁶,

¹ From R. Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations*, 517-519, London, 1589. The words in square brackets are found only in the edition of 1600, vol. III, 129-131.

² This may have been Richard Hore afterwards captain of the *Valentyne* who is mentioned in the *Letters and Papers of the Reign of Henry VIII*, XIII, pt. I, p. 49, No. 144; p. 336 N^os 910-911; p. 492 N^o 1316; and in pt. II p. 135, N^o 347; p. 253, N^o 660.

³ That is between April 22. 1536 and April 21 1537.

⁴ The edition of 1600 has "Weekes."

⁵ The mark was an old English coin worth 13s. 4d. He was therefore a wealthy man; for his income would now be about £2500.

⁶ The edition of 1600 has "which was lately living." Sir William Butts, whose portrait is in the National Portrait Gallery, was Court Physician to Henry VIII and one of the characters in Shakespeare's *Henry VIII*, act. V scene II. He is described by a contemporary as "vir gravis, eximia literarum cognitione singulari iudicii, summa experientia et prudenti consilii doctor." *Vid. Dictionary of National Biography*, VIII, 103-104; and *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, XI, p. 83, N^o 202 (1); *ibid*, XIII, pt. I p. 232, N^o 626; p. 248, N^o 646 (69); and pt. II, p. 456, N^o 1070.

Master Hardie, Master Biron, Master Carter, Master Wright, Master Rastall Serieant Rastals brother¹, Master Ridley, and divers other, which all were in the admirall called the *Trinitie*, a ship of seven score tunnes, wherein M. Hore himselfe was imbarcked. In the other shippe whose name was the *Minion*, went a very learned and vertuous gentleman, one Master Armigil Wade, [Afterwards Clerke of the Counsailes of king Henry the 8 and king Edward the sixth²], father to the worshipfull master William Wade, now clerke of the privie counsell³, Master Oliver Dawbeney merchant of London, M. Joy afterward gentleman of the kings chappel, with divers other of good account. The whole number that went in the two tall shippes aforesayd, to wit, the *Trinitie* and the *Minion*, were about six score persons, whereof 30. were gentlemen, which all were mustered in warlike maner at Gravesend, and after the receiving of the sacrament, they embarked themselves in the end of Aprill, 1536.

From the time of their setting out from Gravesende, they were very long at sea, to witte, above two meneths, and never touched any lande untill they came to part of the West Indies about Cape Breton, shaping their course thence Northeastwards, untill they came to the Island of Penguin⁴, which is very full of rockes and stones, whereon they went and founde it full of great foules white and gray, as bigge as geese, and they sawe infinite numbers of their egges. They drave a great number of the foules into their boates upon their sailes, and tooke up many of their egges, the foule[s] they flead and their skinnnes were very like hony

¹ The father of these two was John Rastell, the lawyer and printer, whose *Pastyme of the People* appeared in 1530. He married Sir Thomas More's sister Elizabeth, who was thus the mother of the sons mentioned above. John Rastell was the author of the moral play entitled, *A New Interlude and a Mery of the Nature of the IIII Elements*, 1519, which is one of the earliest English productions in which mention is made of the New World. William Rastell, the other son, was made serjeant-at-law on October 16, 1555.

² In all probability Armagil Waad or Wade of Magdalen College, Oxford, and of the Middle Temple. In 1540 he was made Clerk of the Council at Calais, and in 1547, third Clerk of the Privy Council in London. *Vid. Dictionary of National Biography*, LVIII, 400-1.

³ This was Sir William Waad the eldest son of Armagil by his second wife. *Vid. Dictionary of National Biography*, LVIII, 401-3.

⁴ Since according to a marginal note this island 'standeth about the latitude of 50 degrees,' it was evidently our Funk island in 49° 45' 29". *Vid. pp. 6 et seq. supra.*

combes full of holes being flead off: they dressed and eate them, and found them to be very good and nourishing meate. They saw also store of beares both blacke and white, of whome they killed some, and tooke them for no badde foode¹.

M. Oliver Dawbeny, which (as it is before mentioned) was in this voyage, and in the *Minion* tolde M. Richard Hakluyt of the middle Temple² these things following: to wit, That after their arrivall in Newfound land, and having bene there certaine dayes at ancre, and not having yet seene any of the naturall people of the Countrey, the same Dawbeny walking one day on the hatches, spied a boate with Savages of those partes³, rowing downe the bay⁴ towarde them, to gaze upon the shippe and our people, and taking viewe of their comming aloofe, hee called to such as were under [the] hatches, and willed them to come up if they would see the naturall people of the Countrey, that they had so long and so much desired to see: Whereupon they came up and tooke viewe of the Savages rowing toward them and their shippe, and upon the viewe they manned out a shipboote to meete them and to take them. But they spying our shipboote making towards them, returned with maine force and fled into an Island that laye up in the bay or river there, and our men pursued them into the Island, and the Savages fledde and escaped: but our men founde a fire, and the side of a beare on a wooden spit left at the same by the Savages that were fledde.

There in the same place they founde a boote of leather garnished on the utter⁵ side of the calfe with certaine brave trailes⁶, as it were of raw silke, and also founde a certaine great warme mitten: And these carried with them, they returned to their shippe, not finding the Savages, nor seeing any thing else besides the soyle, and the things growing in the same, which chiefly were store of firre and pine trees.

And further, the said M. Dawbeny told him⁷, that lying there they grewe into great want of victuals, and that there they found small reliefe, more then that they had from the nest of an

¹ *Vid.* p. 9 *supra*.

² "My cosin," says Hakluyt in the Epistle Dedicatorie fol. 2.

³ The Beothucks. *Vid.*, J. P. Howley, *The Beothucks*, 10, Cambridge 1915.

⁴ The name of this bay or harbour is nowhere indicated.

⁵ The edition of 1600 has "outward."

⁶ Thin strips.

⁷ Richard Hakluyt, "my cosin." *Vid.* note

Osprey, that brought hourelly to her yong great plentie of divers sorts of fishes. But such was the famine that increased amongst them from day to day, that they were forced to seeke to relieve themselves of rawe herbes and rootes that they sought on the maine¹: but the famine increasing, and the reliefe of herbes being to little purpose to satisfie their insatiable hunger, in the fieldes and deserts here and there, the fellowe killed his mate while hee stouped to take up a roote for his reliefe, and cutting out pieces of his body whome hee had murthered, broyled the same on the coles and greedily devoured them.

By this meane the company decreased, and the officers knewe not what was become of them; And it fortunéd that one of the company driven with hunger to seeke abroad for reliefe, found out in the fields the savour of broyled flesh, and fell out with one for that hee would suffer him and his felowes to sterve, enjoying plentie as he thought: And this matter growing to cruel speaches, he that had the broyled meate, burst out into these wordes: *If thou wouldest needes knowe, the broyled meate that I had was a piece of such a mans buttocke.* The report of this brought to the ship, the Captaine found what became of those that were missing, and was perswaded that some of them were neither devoured with wilde beastes, nor yet destroyed with² the Savages: And hereupon he stood up and made a notable Oration, containing, How much these dealings offended the Almighty, and vouched the Scriptures from first to last, what God had in cases of distresse done for them that called upon him, and told them that the power of the Almighty was then nolesse, then in al former time it had bene. And added, that if it had not pleased God to have holpen them in that distresse, that yet it had bene better to have perished in body, and to have lived everlastingly, then to have relieved for a poore time their mortal bodies, and to bee condemned everlastingly both body and soule to the unquenchable fire of hel[l]. And thus having ended to that effect, he began to exhort to repentance, and besought all the company to pray, that it might please God to looke upon their miserable present state, and for his owne mercie to relieve the same. [The famine increasing, and the inconvenience of the men that were missing being found, they agreed amongst themselves rather then all should perish, to cast lots who should be killed:] And such was

¹ The main shore of Newfoundland.

² By.

the mercie of God, that the same night there arrived a French shippe in that port, well furnished with vittaile, and such was the policie of the English, that they became masters of the same¹, and changing ships, and vitayling them, they set saile to come into England.

In their iourney² they were so farre Northwards, that they sawe mightie Islands of yce in the sommer season, on which were haukes and other foules to rest themselves being wearie of flying over farre from the maine. They sawe also certaine great white foules with redde billes and redde legs, somewhat bigger then Herons, which they supposed to be storkes. They arrived at S. Ives in Cornewall about the ende of October. From thence they departed unto a certaine Castle belonging to sir John Luttrell, where M. Thomas Buts, and M. Rastall, and other Gentlemen of the voyage were very friendly intertained: after that they came to the Earle of Bathe at Bathe, and thence to Bristoll, and so to London. M. Buts was so changed in the voyage with hunger and miserie, that sir William his father and my Lady his mother, knewe him not to be their sonne, untill they found a secret marke which was a wart upon one of his knees, as hee tolde me Richard Hakluyt of Oxford himselfe, to whome I rode 200. miles onely to learne the whole trueth of this voyage from his owne mouth, as being the onely man nowe alive, that was in this discoverie.

Certaine moneths after, those Frenchmen came into England, and made complaint to king Henry the 8 : the king causing the matter to be examined, and finding the great distresse of his subiects, and the causes of the dealing so with the French, was so mooved with pitie, that hee punished not his subiects, but of his owne purse made full and royall recompense unto the French.

In this distresse of famine, the English did somewhat relieve their vitall spirits, by drinking at the springs the fresh water out of certaine wooden cups, out of which they had drunke their *Aqua composita*, before.³

¹ The marginal note says they "surprised" her.

² Homewards.

³ This text will also be found in the reprints of Hakluyt's *Principall Navigations*, III, 200-202, London, 1810; XII 294-298, Edinburgh, 1889; VIII 3-7, Glasgow, 1904.

APPENDIX II.

AN EXTRACT FROM THE *Cosmographie* OF JEAN ALFONSE, COMPLETED 24 MAY, 1544¹.

Fol. 175^v

Puis que nous avons parlé de la partie meridionnale et de la partie occidentalle [de l'Amérique] ensemble, et de la mer Paciffique, depuys l'isle de Fer, par laquelle nous faisons la ligne dyametralle², c'est raison que nous parlions de la partie septentrionnale, qui est la Terre Neufve, et de la mer de la Nouvelle France, dicte Canada, ensemble de la Franciscane³ et de la Fleuride jusques à l'vltime du Figuier⁴, de la partie de septentrion. En commanceant de l'isle de Fer, ladicte isle de Fer est par les vingt six degrez et demy de la haulteur du polle artique, et est norouest et suest avec le cap de Ratz⁵, et y a en la route six cens lieues. Et entre les deux

¹ This work which is MS. français N° 676 of the Bibliothèque Nationale has already been published by M. Georges Musset of La Rochelle under the title, *La Cosmographie avec l'espère et régime du soleil et du nord par Jean Fonteneau dit Alfonse de Saintonge, Capitaine-pilote de François I^{er}, publiée et annotée par Georges Musset*, Paris (Leroux) 1904. The above extract (pp. 475-503) has been collated afresh with the MS. Several readings will thus be found to differ from those in M. Musset's edition, and one or two omissions are now inserted. This extract has also been collated with the English text printed in Hakluyt's *Principall Navigations*, III, 237-240, whereby several phrases not found in the French text have also been added.

² Cf. Musset's edition of the *Cosmographie*, 115: "Ladicte isle de Fer est la plus occidentalle isle des Canaries, et par dessus elle passe la ligne dyamétralle. Vous debvez sçavoir que en la sphère y a douze lignes, qui vont de polle à polle; et ladicte dyamétralle est celle qui regarde les polles le plus droict, laquelle, avec la ligne esquynociale, partent le monde en quatre parties en figure de quadrens," etc.; and also p. 127. *Vid.* also p. 47 *supra* note 17.

³ *Vid.* p. 3 *supra* note b.

⁴ Cf. *Cosmographie*, Musset's edition, 467: "Le cap du Figuyer est à vingt degrez et demy de la haulteur du polle artique; et est ledict cap du Figuier en la terre de l'Ucatan." It was probably cape Catoche, the north-eastern extremity of Yucatan peninsula in 21° 30', which was so named after *cap du Figuier*, which marks the boundary between France and Spain in the Bay of Biscay.

⁵ Cape Race, the south-eastern extremity of Newfoundland. *Vid.* p. 239 *supra*.

sont les isles de Madere¹ et les isles des Essores², et aultres isles, qui sont à la mer du cap de Ratz, desquelles parlerons par cy après. Cap de Ratz est à quarente et sept degrez de la haulteur du polle artique; et est ledict cap de Ratz | terre haulte, en bonne manière³. 176^r
 La coste est dangereuse. Et premièrement commancerons à parler dudict cap de Ratz en ensuyvant la coste du septentrion jusques à la Nouvelle France et jusques à la rivière de Canada⁴. Et cecy faict, retournerons audict cap de Ratz, en ensuyvant la coste de la Franciscane et de la Fleuride jusques à l'vltime du Figuier du cousté du septentrion. Cap de Ratz et cap d'Espoir⁵ sont nordest et surouest, et y a en la route dix-sept lieues. Et entre les deux est la baye dicte Rogneuse⁶ et la baye de l'Islet⁷, et plusieurs aultres bayes⁸ et les isles d'Espoir⁹. Et à la mer de la baye de Rogneuse, environ vne lieue et demye en la mer, y a vng mauvais rochier¹⁰, qui semble à vng basteau. Cap d'Espoir est par les quarente et sept degrez et deux tiers de la haulteur du polle

¹ Madeira.

² The Azores. Cf. Musset's edition, 134: "Et sont en la moictié du chemin de Portugal et de la Terre Neufve. Et de ceste cy [isle des Corbeaux] jusques au cap de Ratz n'y a que trois cens cinquante lieues; et sont norouest et suest avec le cap de Ratz."

³ Cape Race in 46° 39' 24" is described by Maxwell (*op. cit.*, 38) as having "a barren appearance . . . and faced by cliffs, from 100 to 200 feet high, formed of slate in nearly vertical strata. The land rises gradually, and between 10 and 12 miles to the north-east is a rocky range 710 feet high." *Vid.*, also the sketch in Cloué *op. cit.*, I, p. 30, N° 1.

⁴ The St. Lawrence. *Vid. supra* p. 108 note 91.

⁵ Cape Spear three miles and a quarter south of St. John's harbour. The distance from cape Race to cape Spear is sixty-five miles.

⁶ Renewse harbour ten miles north of cape Race. *Vid.* p. 240 *supra*.

⁷ In all probability Aquafort harbour a few miles north of Renewse. It has an island called Spurwink island which is forty feet high and lies at the south side of the entrance. Cf. Maxwell, *op. cit.*, 430: "Aquafort harbour . . . is little more than 2 cables wide at the entrance and extends 2½ miles in a north-west direction between high steep hills. The anchorage is good, and vessels may lie in perfect safety in 9 fathoms water, over mud . . . The land is fertile and well wooded; salmon and trout abound in the two rivers which run into it and water can be obtained easily."

⁸ These are Ferryland and Fermeuse harbours, Caplin bay, Broyle harbour, Mobile and Vitless bays and finally Bay of Bulls just south of cape Spear.

⁹ These are Spear, Fox, Pebble and Great islands off Toad Cove.

¹⁰ Renewse rocks about two miles from Renewse head. According to Maxwell (*op. cit.*, 432) they "are always from 6 to 10 feet above water."

artique¹. Cap d'Espoir et l'isle de Bacaillau² sont nort et su, et prenent vng quart de nordest et surouest, et y a en la route quinze lieues. Et y a, entre les deux, la baye de saint Jehan³, et aultres plusieurs bayes⁴; entre lesquelles y en a vne, laquelle attraverse toute la Terre Neufve, jusques à la coste de l'est et ouest, et faict du cap de Ratz vne isle⁵. Ceste coste est terre haulte⁶, sans aulcun prouffict, excepté le pescherye. L'isle de Bacaillau est par les quarente et huyt degrez de la haulteur du
 176^v polle artique, et n'est sinon vne roche sans aulcunes | herbes ny terres prouffictables, et est platte par le dessus⁷. Et à la terre de l'isle de Bacaillau, auprès d'elle, y a vne aultre petite isle⁸; et entre ceste petite isle et la terre y a bon passaige. Bacaillau et l'islet des Aponas⁹ sont nord et su, et prenent vng quart de nordest et surouest; et y a en la route trente et cinq lieues. Et entre les deux, en la grand terre¹⁰, y a plusieurs bayes, grandes¹¹, et isles¹² et

¹ Cape Spear lies in 47° 31' 11".

² Now Baccalieu island about forty miles north of cape Spear.

³ St. John's, the capital of Newfoundland. "The harbour," says Maxwell (*op. cit.*, 419), "although small, is convenient and secure, having deep water and excellent holding ground."

⁴ Quidy Viddy, Torbay and Conception bay with its numerous inlets.

⁵ This bay is so represented on Alfonse's map, reproduced in Harisse, *op. cit.*, 225 and at p. 476 of Musset's edition. Both writers identify it with Conception bay, and this is correct according to the text. Trinity bay however which lies at the north end of Baccalieu island, runs inland in a W. S. W. direction for fifty miles, and is only separated from Placentia bay, which likewise runs inland from the south coast, by the narrow isthmus of Avalon, three miles in width. This narrow neck of land alone prevents the presqu'île of Avalon from being an island as Alfonse thought it was. The bay referred to in the text is evidently therefore Trinity bay. Cf. Jukes, *op. cit.*, I, 75.

⁶ The coast from Conception bay to St. John's is according to Maxwell (*op. cit.*, 418), "steep cliff."

⁷ Baccalieu island lighthouse stands in 48° 8' 51". The island, which is three miles long by three-quarters of a mile wide, lies just off the end of the long peninsula separating Conception and Trinity bays.

⁸ This island is indicated on the charts but its name is not given. The passage is about two miles wide. *Vid.*, Jukes, *loc. cit.*

⁹ Funk island. *Vid.* p. 6 *supra*.

¹⁰ Newfoundland itself.

¹¹ These are Trinity bay which is fifteen miles wide at its mouth, Catalina harbour mentioned by Cartier (p. 5 *supra*), Bonavista bay which is thirty-six and a half miles wide and forty-five miles deep, and finally Sir Charles Hamilton sound just north of cape Bonavista.

¹² Trinity bay has a number of islands in it and Bonavista bay and Sir Charles Hamilton sound are full of them.

rochiers¹, en tout dangereux, qui entrent bien long en la mer, plus que les isles, principalement le travers des isles de Feu², et du cap de Bonne Veue³. Le cap de Bonne Veue est terre basse, et est entre deux grandz fleuves⁴. L'isle des Aponas est vne petite roche platte, et à la terre d'elle y a deux aultres petites isles de roche platte, auprès d'elle(s)⁵. Et y a d'elles à la terre quinze lieues⁶. L'isle des Aponas est par les cinquante degrez et demy de la haulteur du polle artique⁷. L'isle des Aponas et les Belles isles⁸ sont norouest et suest, et prennent vng quart de nord et su, et y a de l'une à l'autre trēte et deux lieues. Et entre les deux, en la terre, y a plusieurs bayes⁹, et la coste est dangereuse¹⁰. Les Belles isles sont par les cinquante vng degrez et deux tiers de la haulteur du polle artique¹¹. Les Belles isles et le Carpon¹² sont nord norouest et su suest; et y a de l'un à l'autre douze lieues¹³. Et entre les deux est la baye de la Cramailière¹⁴ et le cap Rouge¹⁵,

¹ Cape Bonavista is surrounded by rocks and reefs to a distance of six miles, and cape Freels to a distance of eight miles.

² Fogo island and those forming the north side of Sir Charles Hamilton sound.

³ Cape Bonavista. *Vid.* p. 4 *supra* note 4.

⁴ Cape Bonavista lies at the extremity of the peninsula separating Trinity and Bonavista bays.

⁵ *Vid.* p. 6 *supra* note 1 and *Cf.* Maxwell, *op. cit.*, 1st edition, 1878, p. 199: "Two islets lie off the north-west point of Funk island, at the distance of 6 and 3 cables."

⁶ *Cf.* p. 8 *supra*.

⁷ Funk island lies in 49° 45' 29".

⁸ Groais island and Belle-Isle south. *Vid.* p. 12 *supra*.

⁹ Among the principal are Notre-Dame and Confusion bays, bay Verte, White and Canada bays.

¹⁰ On account of the rocks off Fogo island.

¹¹ *Vid.* p. 12 *supra* note 7.

¹² Kirpon island, which is three and a half miles long by a mile and a half broad and forms the north-eastern extremity of Newfoundland. *Cf.* p. 10 *supra*.

¹³ In the English translation of this part of the *Cosmographie* published in Hakluyt (*op. cit.*, III, 237-240), the distance is given, as "ten leagues."

¹⁴ Now *Havre de la Crémaillère* in 51° 20'. *Cf.* Maxwell, *op. cit.*, 3rd edition, 1897, p. 239: "The entrance is nearly 2 cables wide . . . it thence extends in a northerly direction, one mile long and half a mile wide, affording good anchorage in 10 fathoms water, over mud and sand."

¹⁵ *Cf.* Maxwell, *op. cit.*, 254: "Cape Rouge harbour, formed by the above mentioned [Cape Rouge and Conche] peninsulas and the mainland, is divided into Biche arm and Southwest bay . . . Biche arm contains perfectly secure anchorage easy of access with any wind." It lies directly opposite Groais island. *Vid.* p. 11.

et aultres bayes¹. Le Carpon est par les cinquante deux degrez et vng sixain de la haulteur du polle artique². Et davant le Carpon, du cousté de l'est, y a deux petitz isletz platz³. Le Carpon est vne isle, et a deux entrées⁴. Et du cousté du norouest du Carpon y a deux ou trois petites isles, et vne roche platte⁵. Et quant vous sortirez du cousté devers le norouest, il fault que vous la laissez du cousté d'estribort, qu'est la main dextre⁶. Le
 177^r Carpon et l'isle de la Grand baye⁷ sont nord | nordest et su sur-ouest; et y a de l'vng à l'autre sept lieues. Et entre les deux la mer est saine, sans nul dangé, se de glaces⁸. Belle isle est au meilleu de la Grand baye, et est par les cinquante deux degrez et demy de la haulteur du polle artique⁹. Et au bout, du cousté devers le nord norouest, à vne demye lieue de ladicte isle, y a vng

¹ These are Croc harbour, Hare bay which is five miles wide and eighteen deep, St. Mein, Great Bréhat and St. Lunaire bays, (this latter being one of the finest harbours in Newfoundland) and finally Griguet harbour just south of Petit-Kirpon.

² Hakluyt's text gives "52 degrees." Kirpon island extends from 51° 35' to 51° 39'.

³ The White islands which are now three in number and lie two and a quarter miles from the outer point of Petit-Kirpon. Cf. Maxwell, *op. cit.*, 232.

⁴ *Vid.* pp. 12-13 *supra*.

⁵ The Sacred islands mentioned above (p. 13 note 2) and Foirou island which lies two and a third miles N.W. by W. of cape Bauld. The latter is described by Maxwell (*op. cit.*, 540) as "a low round rock 100 yards in diameter."

⁶ Hakluyt's text has: "halfe a league from the Isle, over against Carpont toward the East there is a small flat Island, and on the side toward the North-east there is a flat rocke. And when thou comest out of the harborough of Carpont thou must leave this rocke on the starreboord side, and also on the larboord side there are two or three small Isles: and when thou comest out on the Northeast side, ranging along the shore toward the West about two pikes length in the midway there is a shold which lieth on thy starboord side." The "small flat island" is evidently Vincent island opposite the southern end of Jacques-Cartier island, while the "flat rocks" is a shoal close by. The "two or three small Isles" are Grand Mulou shoal, île Verte and Maria reefs just south-east of Little Sacred Island. The "shold" is point Duménil shoal. *Vid.* pp. 11-13 *supra*.

⁷ Belle-Isle north lying thirteen and a half miles north of cape Bauld, the northern extremity of Kirpon island. The distance is counted in the text from Grand-Kirpon. Hakluyt's version has, "Carpont and Bell Isle from the Grand Bay are Northeast and Southwest, and the distance from Bell Isle to the Grand Bay is 7 leagues." *Vid.* p. 76 *supra* note 9.

⁸ *Se* has here the sense of *sinon*. Cf. pp. 13-14 *supra*.

⁹ Belle Isle north, in the middle of the Atlantic entrance to the strait of Belle Isle, extends from 51° 53' to 52° 1'.

maulvais rochier¹. De Belle isle de la Grand Baye² aux fernes³ de la mer glacée, d'où sortent les glaces qui viennent à la Terre Neufve, (et) y a de l'vn à l'autre soixante et dix lieues; et la coste gist nordest et surouest, et est coste dangereuse de rochiers, et y courent fort les eaues⁴. Ceste mer glacée est douce la pluspart; et est entre ceste terre⁵ et la terre du Laboureur⁶, et va jusques soubz le polle artique. Bournant à la Grand baye⁷, je dictz que Belle isle de la Grand baye⁸ et les isles de Blanc Sablon⁹ sont l'est nordest et ouest surouest; et y a en la route trente lieues. Et entre les deux, du cousté du nord, est la baye de Chasteau¹⁰,

¹ North-East ledge distant a mile and a quarter from the north-east point of the island. Hakluyt's text has: "The midst of the Grand Bay is in 52 degrees and a halfe, and on the Northside thereof there is a rocke."

² Belle-Isle north.

³ M. Musset read, *fesnes*. The word meant is evidently *fermes*, in the sense of "barriers" or "limits."

⁴ From Château bay to Spotted island in 53° 30' the Labrador coast runs almost due north. At the point mentioned it turns towards the north-west. The compass variation here is now about 38° W. Cf. Maxwell, *op. cit.*, 17: "The cold ice-bearing current from the Artic seas, passing to the southward, along the coast of Labrador, at rates varying from 10 to 36 miles a day . . . is very much influenced near the coast by the winds, reaching its maximum rate after those from the northward."

⁵ Our Labrador which at that time was considered as forming part of the *Terres Neufves*. *Vid.* p. 3 *supra* note 1 and also Alfonse's map in Harris, *op. cit.*, 225 and at p. 476 of Musset's edition; also Kohl, *op. cit.*, maps N^{os} VI, VIII, IX, X and XVI; and plates II, VIII, XII and XIV, *supra*.

⁶ Our Greenland which was called *Tierra del Labrador* possibly by the Cabots in 1498. *Vid.* the *Revue Hispanique*, X, 534 *et seq.*

⁷ The portion of the Gulf of St. Lawrence just inside strait of Belle Isle. *Vid.* p. 76 note 9.

⁸ Belle-Isle north at the entrance to the strait of Belle Isle. Hakluyt's text has, "Bell Isle in the mouth of the Grand Bay."

⁹ Hakluyt's text has, "which are within the Grand Bay, neere unto the North shore." These are Wood and Greenly islands opposite Blanc Sablon. *Vid.* p. 16 *supra*.

¹⁰ Château bay mentioned at p. 14 *supra*. Hakluyt's text has inserted before this sentence: "The Grand Bay at the entrance is but 7 leagues broad from land to land untill it come over against the Bay des Chasteaux: and from thence forward it hath not past 5 leagues in breadth. And against Blanc Sablon it is 8 leagues broad from land to land." Cf. Maxwell, *op. cit.*, 565: "The eastern entrance of the strait of Belle-isle, between York point and cape Bauld, is 26 miles wide . . . At cape Norman . . . the opposite coast of Labrador is distant only 15 miles; but the narrowest part . . . is at Amour point in Forteau bay, where it is only 9½ miles wide. The western entrance . . . between Greenly island and Férolle point is nearly 21 miles wide."

et la baye des Bytes¹. Du cousté du nord, devers la Grand baye, la coste est saine, sans nul danger; et celle devers le su de la Terre Neufve est dangereuse; et pour ce, il fault ranger à la costé du nord². Et bien avant en la Grand baye, du cousté de la Terre Neufve, à vng tiers ou presque au meilleu de la Grand baye, y a vng mauvais rochier dangereux³. Le cousté devers la Terre Neufve est terre basse et pierreuse, sans prouffict; et la terre du nord est haulte en bonne manière⁴. Les isles de Blanc Sablon sont par les cinquante et vng degrez et deux tiers de la haulteur du pollé artique⁵. Les isles de Blanc Sablon et le meilleu de l'isle de l'Ascension⁶ sont l'est nordest et ouest surouest; et y a en la route quatre-vingtz lieues. Les isles de Blanc Sablon, et les isles de la Damoiselle⁷ sont l'est et ouest, et prennent vng quart de nordest et surouest; et y a des isles de Blanc Sablon ès isles de la Demoiselle trente et six lieues. Les isles de la Demoiselle sont à cinquante degrez et trois quartz de la haluteur du polle artique⁸. |

¹ Hakluyt's text has "haven of Butes" which is the same as in Cartier, p. 14 *supra*. Martin de Hoyarsabal, *op. cit.*, 109, gives *Boytus*.

² Cf. Maxwell, *op. cit.*, 29: "The Labrador shore, being more free of danger, should be kept on board in preference to that of Newfoundland."

³ This must be Green island which is the only one on the Newfoundland side of the strait beyond cape Norman. It is three-quarters of a mile from shore and Maxwell (*op. cit.*, 531) says it "is narrow and low . . . and can be seen from a distance of 10 miles in clear weather." Cf. p. 14 *supra* note 6. Hakluyt's text has: "and saile thou by the North coast, and leave two partes of the Grand Bay toward the South; because there is a rocke which runneth 2 or 3 leagues into the sea. And when thou art come athwart the haven of Butes, run along the North shore about one league or an halfe off, for the coast is without all danger." By this "rocke," Bay shoal is evidently meant which lies two and a half miles S. by W. from the east point of Wreck bay. The charts give five fathoms on it. From the "haven of Buttes" or Black bay, which is nine and a half miles beyond Wreck bay, onward the coast is quite clear.

⁴ Hakluyt's text has: "And the land on the South shore is all low land along the sea coast. The North shore is reasonable high land." This description is correct.

⁵ Wood and Greenly islands lie in 51° 23' and 51° 25'.

⁶ Anticosti island. Cartier (p. 104 *supra*) named it, *île de l'Assumption*.

⁷ Great Mecatina, Treble Hill, Flat and Murr islands. Cartier (p. 97 *supra*) named these *îles Sainte-Marthe*.

⁸ Great Mecatina island extends from 50° 44' 2" to 50° 48'.

Et y a vng bon port¹, et fault entrer au long d'vng hault cap², ¹⁷⁷ qui est en l'isle devers le nordest, et à la longueur d'vne picque et demye, pour raison d'un rochier qui vous demourera du cousté de babort; et irez bouter l'ancre en vingt³ brasses le travers d'vne petite anse. Et de l'entrée dudict cap⁴ jusques là où vous metrez ladicte ancre, n'y a point passé la longueur de deux cables. Et si vous voulez sortir par le cousté de l'ouest⁵, approucherez de l'isle du cousté de thiébert, et donnerez ruing à l'isle de babort, à la sortie⁶. Et quant vous serez dehors, environ la longueur d'un cable, il vous fault approucher au long des isles de babort, pour raison d'vne basse couverte⁷, qui vous demourera du cousté de thiébert. Et irez ainsi au su surouest jusques ad ce que vous voyés vng brisant d'vne roche⁸, qui est environ demye lieue en la mer desdictes isles, et la fault laisser du cousté qui est la main gaulche. Et des isles de la Damoiselle jusques à la Terre Neufve n'y a point passé plus hault que de trente et six lieues de largeur de mer, parce que la Terre Neufve, au dedans de ceste mer⁹, se court nord nordest et su surouest. Entre les isles de la Damoiselle et les isles de Blanc Sablon, y a maintes aultres isles et de

¹ Island harbour at Great Mecatina island. Cf. Bayfield, *op. cit.*, I, 167-168: "Island harbour is a cove one mile deep, and about 2 cables wide between Bluff head, the high north-east point of Great Mecattina island and the Boule. This harbour is sheltered from easterly winds by a cluster of small islets and rocks lying off its mouth, and leaving a safe passage on either side of them. If the south passage is used, keep Bluff head aboard."

² Bluff head.

³ Hakluyt's text has, "10 fathome." Cf. Bayfield, *loc. cit.*: "The anchorage is near the head of the cove, in from 14 to 20 fathoms."

⁴ Hakluyt's text has, "and from the great headland," i.e. Bluff head.

⁵ That is by the passage between Great Mecatina island and the mainland.

⁶ Cf. Bayfield, *loc. cit.*: "And if the north passage is used, pass between the cluster just mentioned, and a small rock by itself, lying . . . one cable from the shore of Great Mecattina island."

⁷ Cf. Bayfield, *op. cit.*, I, 167: "The Boule is a high and round islet, nearly joined to the north point of Great Mecattina island. There is a small rock above water close off it . . . ; and at the distance of about half a mile in the same direction, a patch of rocks with about 4 fathoms least water." Alfonse says to hug the Boule and the rock in order to avoid the patch.

⁸ Murr islets and rocks. *Vid.* p. 97 *supra* and cf. Bayfield, *op. cit.*, I, 170: "The northern of Murr islets . . . is 2½ miles from Outer rocks; and there is a clear and deep channel between, the depth of water exceeding 80 fathoms."

⁹ Hakluyt's text has: "because that Newfoundland even unto Cape Briton runneth," etc. The distance across to Rich point in Newfoundland is about fifty-five miles.

bons portz¹. Et en ceste coste se trouvent faulcons et oyseaulx de proye, et poulles, qui se tiennent ès boys, qui ressemblent à faisans². Les isles de la Damoiselle et le cap de Thiennot³ sont nordest et surouest, et prennent vn quart de l'est et ouest; et y a des isles de la Damoiselle au cap de Thiennot vingt lieues⁴. Et entre les deux y a sept ou huyt isles⁵; et y a aulcuns dangiers de rochiers, qui sont plus en la mer que lesdictes isles⁶. Le cap de Thiennot est à cinquante degrez de la haulteur du polle artique⁷; et en droict ce cap est la plus large de ceste mer, et peult avoir d'icy au bout de la Terre Neufve, qui faict l'entrée du cap à Breton, (y a) soixante et dix lieues⁸. Le cap de Thiennot a en
 178^r la mer cinq ou six lieues, (y a) vne isle perdue dangereuse; et est la plus grand part de ladicte isle decouverte⁹. Et est dangereuse pour navires, et fault passer par le dehors d'elle. Le cap de Thiennot et le meilleu de l'isle de l'Ascension sont l'est nordest et ouest surouest; et y a en la traversée vingt et quatre lieues¹⁰. Le meilleu de l'isle de l'Ascension est à quarente neuf degrez et demy de la haulteur du polle artique¹¹. Ladicte isle est assise norouest et suest. Et le bout du norouest est à cinquante degrez de la haulteur du polle artique¹², et est l'est et ouest avec le cap

¹ *Vid.* pp. 16-23 and 95-96 *supra*.

² Hakluyt's text has: "and on this coast there are faulcons & haukes, and certaine foules which seeme to be feasants."

³ This name was given by Cartier (pp. 77 and 99 *supra*) to Natashkwan point. Jean Alfonse identifies it here with cape Whittle which Cartier called *cap Saint-Germain* (p. 98 *supra*). Further on however (note 10 *infra*) Alfonse does use the name in reference to Natashkwan point so that he considers these two capes as one and the same though they are nearly sixty-two miles apart.

⁴ Hakluyt's text has "18 leagues," Cape Whittle is sixty miles from Great Mecatina island.

⁵ Such as Bald, Little Mecatina, Harrington, Boat and Wapitagun islands. *Vid.* pp. 96-98 *supra*.

⁶ Such as the Murr rocks, Black and St. Mary reefs, South Makers ledge, etc.

⁷ Hakluyt's text has "50 degrees and $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Cape Whittle lies in 50° 10' 36" and Natashkwan point in 50° 5'.

⁸ "Which is the greatest bredth of this sea," is added in Hakluyt's text. The distance from cape Whittle in longitude 60° 7' to St. Paul's island in Cabot strait in longitude 60° 8' 20" is about 178 miles.

⁹ South Makers ledge mentioned above p. 98 note 42.

¹⁰ Hakluyt's text gives "22 leagues." Alfonse is now identifying cape Thiennot with Natashkwan point.

¹¹ This latitude is correct.

¹² Anticosti lies N.W. $\frac{1}{2}$ N. and S.E. $\frac{1}{2}$ S. West point stands in 49° 52' 12".

de Thiennot, et prent vng quart de norouest et suest; et y a en la route trente et quatre lieues. Le cap de Thiennot¹ et la pointe de l'isle de l'Ascension, du cousté devers le suest, sont nordest et surouest, et prenent vng quart de nord et su; et y a en la route trente et quatre lieues². Le bout du suest de l'isle de l'Ascension est à quarente et huyt degrez et vng quart de la haulteur du polle artique³. Et a ladicte isle environ trente lieues de longitude, et dix ou douze lieues de latitude⁴. Et du bout du norouest de l'isle à la terre ferme du cousté du nord, n'y a point passé sept lieues de largeur de mer⁵. La terre du nord est haulte, et y a plusieurs isles au long la coste⁶. Et est l'isle de l'Ascension vne isle platte, toute couverte d'arbres | jusques au bord de la mer⁷, 178^v assise sur roches blanches et albastres⁸; et y a de toutes sortes d'arbres comme celles de France. Et y a en la terre forces bestes saulvaiges comme hours, porcs espiz⁹, cerf, biches et dains, et oyseaulx de toutes sortes, et forces poulles saulvaiges, lesquelles se tiennent ès boys. Et y a au long de la coste plusieurs petites rivières.

¹ Natashkwan point.

² Hakluyt's text gives "30 leagues." The distance from Natashkwan point to East cape on Anticosti is about fifty-eight miles.

³ Hakluyt's text gives "48. degrees and a halfe." Heath point lies in 49° 5' 5" and East cape in 49° 8' 30".

⁴ Hakluyt's text gives, "about 25. leagues long and 4. or 5. leagues broad." Anticosti is 122 miles long and thirty wide at the broadest point.

⁵ *Vid.* p. 72 note 16.

⁶ The Mingan islands. *Vid.* p. 72 *supra*.

⁷ Cf. Wyet's voyage in Hakluyt, *op. cit.*, III, 194: "We went also seven of us on shore and found there exceeding fayre great woods of tall firre trees"; and J. U. Gregory, *En racontant*, cited by Huard, *op. cit.*, 223: "Cette partie [nord] de l'île fournit d'excellentes forêts de pins, d'épinettes, de frênes, de bouleaux blancs, mais aucun de ces arbres cependant n'atteint une grosseur assez considérable pour être d'une utilité générale; on ne peut en faire tout au plus que des mâts de goélettes de 50 tonneaux"; and *ibid.*, p. 241.

⁸ Cf. Bayfield, *op. cit.*, I, 56: "The North coast is bold . . . Picturesque headlands . . . end in magnificent cliffs of limestone, which are externally so nearly white as to resemble chalk."

⁹ Hakluyt's text has only, "beares, Luserns, Porkespicks." Cf. Gregory in Huard, *loc. cit.*: "Les seuls animaux que l'on rencontre dans ces parages sont l'ours noir, la loutre, la martre, le renard roux, argenté et noir"; and *ibid.*: "On rencontre partout des marais et des lagunes, où séjournent des quantités innombrables d'oiseaux aquatiques, tels que les outardes, les canards, les plongeurs," etc.; and *ibid.* pp. 241-242.

bonnes à faire mouldre moulins; et est fort bonne eaue¹. Et si est la terre bien belle et platte, de manière que je n'ay point veu en toute l'isle montaigne si haulte que l'on n'y peust bien mener vne charrette². Le³ cap de l'isle de l'Ascension du cousté du norouest et le cap des montz Nostre Dame⁴ sont nordest et surouest, et y a de l'un à l'autre vingt lieues. Et est ledict cap à quarente et neuf degrez de la haulteur du polle artique, et est ledict cap haulte montaigne⁵. Le bout de l'Ascension devers le norouest et le cap de Onguedo⁶ sont nord nordest et su surouest, et y a de l'un à l'autre trente et cinq lieues. Et est ledict cap à quarente huyt degrez de la haulteur du polle artique. Le cap de Onguedo et le bout de l'isle de l'Ascension⁷ sont l'est et ouest; et y a de l'un à l'autre quinze lieues⁸. Et y a au bout du cap de

¹ There are four streams emptying into the Gulf on the north coast and thirteen on the south. *Vid.* Huard, *op. cit.*, 239-240 and p. 242: "Les nombreuses rivières de l'île permettraient d'établir facilement des scieries en bien des endroits. Et l'énorme force motrice fournie par des cascades comme celle de la rivière Vauréal (200 pieds), de la rivière de la Chute (75 pieds), et des quatre sauts successifs (d'une hauteur totale de 99 pieds) de la rivière au Saumon, pourrait être utilisée de bien des manières." These three streams are on the north coast.

² Cf. Bayfield, *op. cit.*, I, 56: "Anticosti is nowhere higher than 700 feet above the sea. Its south coast is low and shelving . . . There is, however, a range of highlands in rear of South-west point, and extending for some miles both north-westward and south-eastward of it. The north coast, for 70 or 80 miles westward of East cape, is bold, precipitous, and of considerable elevation . . . The remainder of the north coast is low."

³ Hakluyt's text has inserted before this: "And from the Southeast end of the Isle of Ascension unto the entrance of Cape Briton is but 50. leagues." Heath point is about 133 miles from cape Ray.

⁴ Hakluyt's text has inserted here: "which is on the maine land towards the South"; and it also gives the distance as "15. leagues." The cape is probably Fame point on the Gaspé shore, the compass variation now being 28° W. *Vid.* p. 105 *supra*. Notre-Dame mountains are given on the Mercator, Ortelius and Belleforest maps.

⁵ Fame point lies in 49° 7' and the coast in rear of it is 1,000 feet high.

⁶ Cape Gaspé forming the north side of the entrance to Gaspé bay in lat. 48° 45' 2". Cf. Bayfield, *op. cit.*, I, 74: "Cape Gaspé is a remarkable headland of limestone." On the map at fol. 178 of the MS. the word is written *Onguedoc* while Hakluyt's text gives "Ognedoc."

⁷ Hakluyt's text has the "end of the Isle of Ascension toward the South-east."

⁸ Cartier (p. 68 *supra*) gave the distance from cape Gaspé to Anticosti as "about 20 leagues." South-West point is about forty-four miles from cape Gaspé but the distance to South point is seventy-eight miles. Hakluyt's text omits all mention of cape Onguedo and gives the distance as being from Fame point to South point.

Onguedo vne islet, lequel est de roche blanche¹. Et du cousté devers le norouest est toute fallaise blanche²; et du cousté devers le surouest, contre la baye de Onguedo³, la terre est toute couverte d'arbres, jusques au bort de l'eaue. La baye de Onguedo gist nord norouest et su suest, et est vne bonne baye⁴. Et pour entrer en icelle, se fault ranger du cousté de la terre du nord, à cause d'une poincte basse⁵, qui est devers le surouest; et quant vous serez au dedans d'elle, venez querir la bande du su, et laissez la poincte Doulgée⁶ du cousté de babort, environ la longueur de deux cables et bouterez l'ancre en l'ance, quinze brases, devers le surouest⁷. Au dedans de cette baye y a deux rivières, l'une qui va au nord et l'autre qui va à l'ouest surouest; | et entre les deux 179^r y a une haulte montaigne⁸. La baye a à son entrée trois lieues de largeur jusques auprès de la poincte basse; et a bien cinq ou six lieues de longitude⁹. La baye des Molues¹⁰ est à quarente et

¹ Flower-pot rock. Cf. Bayfield, *op. cit.*, I, 74: "Flower-pot rock lies close off the south-east extremity of the cape [Gaspé] and is no longer the remarkable object it was at the time of the survey of this bay, having since that time yielded to the force of the waves." I have not been able to see the first edition of Bayfield.

² Cf. Bayfield, *op. cit.*, I, 74: "Cape Gaspé is a remarkable headland of limestone, having on its north-east side a magnificent range of cliffs which rise from the sea to a height of 692 feet."

³ Gaspé bay. *Vid.* p. 59 *supra*, note 8 and p. 60, note 9. Hakluyt's text has "Ognedoc."

⁴ Hakluyt's text adds: "and it is a good Harbour." This is Gaspé harbour.

⁵ Sandy Beach point. Hakluyt's text adds, "at the entrance thereof" i.e. of the harbour. Cf. Bayfield, *op. cit.*, I, 77: "Sandy beach point extends northward, and forms Gaspé harbour . . . It is a low and narrow point of sand, convex to seaward, on which side the water deepens gradually . . . ; on the inside it is as bold as a wall. Thus this spit becomes a natural breakwater, upon which the heavy swell which often rolls into the bay can produce no effect, expending its strength in the shoal water before reaching the bank."

⁶ M. de La Roncière has been good enough to point out this word in Afonse's *Voyages aventureux*, fol. 66^v of the edition of 1559. It may possibly be a corruption of *orgeau* meaning tiller, but nothing positive can be made of it. Cf. Musset's edition, p. 336. Arnold bluff is probably meant.

⁷ *Vid.* p. 60 *supra*, note 9.

⁸ North-West arm or Dartmouth river and South-West arm or Gaspé basin are separated by Arnold bluff.

⁹ Gaspé bay is seven miles and a quarter wide at its mouth, and sixteen miles long from cape Gaspé to Sandy Beach point.

¹⁰ Now Mal bay just below Gaspé bay in 48° 32' and 48° 37'. Hakluyt's text, which omits all mention of Gaspé bay, has here: "The bay of Molues or Gaspay is in 48. degrees," etc. Cf. Bayfield, *op. cit.*, I, 73: "Mal Bay is 5½

huyt degrez de la haulteur du polle artique; et la coste gist nord et su, et prent vng quart de nordest et surouest jusques à la baye de Chaleur¹. La baye de Chaleur est à quarente sept degrez et à quarente sept et demy de la haulteur du polle artique; et a de longitude trente ou trente et cinq lieues, et de latitude huyt ou neuf lieues². Et entre les deux y a trois isles, vne grande et deux petites³. Et depuys la baye de Chaleur jusques à passer les montz Nostre Dame sont toutes terres haultes, bien bonnes; et sont toutes couvertes d'arbres de diverses sortes, jusques au bort de la mer⁴. En ceste coste et à l'isle de l'Ascension y a grand pescherie de molue et de plusieurs aultres poissons beaucoup plus que à la Terre Neufve; et si est ledict poisson bien meilleur que celluy de ladicte Terre Neufve⁵. Le cap de Onguedo et les Sept isles⁶, qui sont du cousté du nord, sont nord norouest et su suest; et y a dudict cap ausdictes isles trente et cinq lieues. Les Sept isles et le bout de l'isle de l'Ascension du cousté du norouest sont l'est suest et ouest norouest; et y a de l'un à l'autre vingt et trois lieues⁷. Le bout de l'isle de l'Ascension et l'isle de Raquelay⁸ sont l'est et ouest, et prenent vng quart de nordest

miles wide, by 4 miles deep, and entirely open to the south-east. On its south-west side . . . there are magnificent cliffs 666 feet in perpendicular height above the sea . . . There is anchorage all round the shores of Mal bay, but as a heavy sea and thick fog often precede a south-east gale and render it difficult for a vessel to beat out, it cannot be recommended."

¹ Chaleur bay. *Vid.* p. 48 *supra*.

² Chaleur bay which extends from 47° 40' to 48° 26' is twenty-five miles wide at its mouth and seventy-five miles long.

³ These are Bonaventure island, Percé rock and Flat island. This sentence is omitted in M. Musset's edition.

⁴ The high cliffs in Mal bay have been already mentioned (note 10 *supra*). Of the coast from cape Gaspé to Fame point and beyond, Bayfield (*op. cit.*, I, 81) says: "The mountains everywhere approach the shore which is steep and rocky, displaying cliffs, often of great height, and without beach."

⁵ Hakluyt's text has inserted after this: "And here is great store of river foule, as Malards, wild Geese, and others: And here are all sorts of trees, Rose trees, Raspesses [? raspberries], Filbird trees, Apple trees, Peare trees, and it is hotter here in Sommer then in France."

⁶ Seven islands so named by Cartier. *Vid.* pp. 108, 111 and 193 *supra*.

⁷ Hakluyt's text has, "24. leagues." The distance from West point on Anticosti to the Seven islands is about seventy-four miles.

⁸ Bic island, 153 miles below Quebec. Hakluyt's text gives *Raquelle*, but Mercator's map has also *Raquelay* which has here the sense of "refuge." Cartier named them or rather Old Bic harbour, "the islets of St. John." *Vid.* pp. 112-113 *supra*.

et surouest. Les Sept isles et le cap des montz Nostre Dame¹ sont nord et su; et y a de l'vn à l'autre vingt et cinq lieues². Les Sept isles sont à cinquante degrez et demy de la haulteur du polle artique³. Les Sept isles et la poincte Dougée⁴ sont nordest et surouest; et y a de l'vn à l'autre quinze lieues. Et y a entre les deux, deux petites isles⁵. La poincte Dougée et les montz Nostre Dame, qui sont en la terre du su, sont l'vn avec l'autre nord et | su; et y a de l'vng à l'autre dix lieues⁶; et cecy est la 179^v largeur de ceste mer. La poincte Dougée et la rivière de Cane⁷ sont l'est et ouest, et y a de l'vn à l'autre douze lieues. Et toutes ces terres depuys l'Ascension sont terres sans prouffict, fort froides et pierreuses. Et aux vallées d'icelles terres y a arbres de toutes sortes, comme en France, et aulcuns portent fruictz comme noix, noisilles, grouselles, frazes et framboises, comme en France⁸. La poincte Dougée est à quarente neuf degrez et vng quart de la haulteur du polle artique⁹. Et la rivière de Cane est à quarente et neuf degrez de ladicte haulteur du polle artique¹⁰. La rivière de Cane et l'isle de Raquelay¹¹ sont nordest et surouest, et y a de l'vn à l'autre douze lieues. L'isle de Raquelay est à quarente huyt degrez et demy de la haulteur du polle artique¹². En ceste

¹ Fame point.

² Hakluyt's text has inserted here, "and this is the breadth of this Sea, and from thence upward it beginneth to waxe narrower and narrower." The distance from Seven islands to cape Ste. Anne is fifty-six miles.

³ The Seven islands are in 50° 8'.

⁴ Pointe des Monts where the river St. Lawrence may be said to begin. Hakluyt's text gives "poynt of Ongear."

⁵ These would be Great Cawee and Egg islands which are fourteen miles apart. Hakluyt's text has: "certaine small islands" which would include the May islets, Little Cawee and the Crooked islands which all lie along this coast.

⁶ The distance from pointe des Monts to cape Chatte opposite is twenty-eight miles. The mountains behind cape Chatte are called Ste. Anne mountains.

⁷ Outarde river some thirty-five miles west of pointe des Monts. Hakluyt's text has "Caen."

⁸ Hakluyt's text has merely: "And all the coast from the Isle of Ascension hither is very good ground, wherein growe all sortes of trees that are in France and some fruits."

⁹ Pointe des Monts lighthouse stands in 49° 19' 35".

¹⁰ The mouth of Outarde river is in 49°.

¹¹ Bic island.

¹² Bic island lies in 48° 25'. Hakluyt's text has, "48. degrees and $\frac{2}{3}$."

rivière de Cane y a forces praiois¹. Et icy la mer n'a point passé huyt lieues de latitude. L'isle de Raquelay est vne isle fort basse², et est ladicte isle auprès de la terre du su, près d'un cap hault, lequel se nomme le cap de Marbre³; et est ledict cap tout ague par dessus⁴. Entre Raquelay et le cap de Marbre peuvent passer navires⁵. Et n'y a point d[e l']isle(s) à la terre du su plus hault d'une lieue⁶; et y a de ladicte isle à la terre du nord environ quatre lieues. L'isle de Raquelay et l'entrée du Saguenay sont l'est et ouest, et prennent vng quart de nordest et surouest; et y a de l'un à l'autre quatorze lieues⁷. L'isle de Raquelay et l'isle de la Guerre⁸ sont l'est nordest et ouest surouest; et y a en la route douze lieues. Et entre les deux y a deux petites isles au long la terre du nord, plus prouchaines de Raquelay que du Saguenay⁹. L'entrée du Saguenay est entre haultes montaignes. La pointe du Saguenay est vne roche blanche¹⁰, et est l'entrée dudict Saguenay
 180^r à quarente et huyt degrez et vng tiers de degré de la haulteur du polle articque¹¹, et ladicte entrée n'a point plus de largeur que vng quart de lieue¹². Et est ladicte entrée dangereuse devers le surouest¹³. Et au dedans de l'entrée environ deux ou trois lieues commence à eslargir, et semble que ce soit vng bras de mer, pour raison de quoy j'estime que ceste mer va à la mer Pacifique ou

¹ Meadows. Hakluyt's text has: "In this river of Caen there is great store of fish."

² Cf. Bayfield, *op. cit.*, I, 93-94: "Bic island . . . is about 3 miles long . . . and one mile broad . . . It is thickly wooded, uninhabited, and its height does not exceed 150 feet above the sea."

³ Cape Arignole, beside which is the Highland of Bic that rises to a height of 1,236 feet.

⁴ *Ague* is the same as *aigu*, pointed. Hakluyt's text has here: "There is no danger there at all."

⁵ Bic channel has nowhere less than seven fathoms.

⁶ Hakluyt's text gives us the true reading: "And there is not from the Isle to the South shore above one league." Bic island lies two miles and a quarter from cape Arignole.

⁷ *Vid.* p. 113 *supra*.

⁸ Basque island. Cf. pp. 177-178 *supra*.

⁹ Esquamine islets ou *Iles Escoumains*. Cf. Bayfield, *op. cit.*, I, 253.

¹⁰ "Saguenay cliffs" says Bayfield, *op. cit.*, I, 271-272 are "high clay cliffs, and the hills covered with sand at this point are easily recognized."

¹¹ The mouth of the Saguenay lies in 48° 8' 32".

¹² Bayfield, *op. cit.*, I, 330: "The entrance channel . . . is three-quarters of a mile wide."

¹³ *Vid.* pp. 115 and 234 *supra*.

bien à la mer du Cattay. Et faict vng grand courant, lequel faict vng terrible ratz¹. Et icy le fleuve, de la terre du nord et de la terre du su, n'a point plus hault de quatre lieues de largeur; et est fort dangereux entre l'vn et l'autre, parce qu'il y a des bans et roches². L'isle de Raquelay et l'isle des Lièvres³ sont nordest et surouest et prennent vng quart de l'est et ouest; et y a de l'vn à l'autre dix-huyt lieues. L'entrée du Saguenay et l'isle des Lièvres sont nord nordest et su surouest; et y a de l'vn à l'autre cinq lieues. L'entrée du Saguenay et l'isle de la Guerre⁴ sont nord norouest et su suest; et y a de l'vn à l'autre trois lieues. L'isle | des Liepvres est à quarente et huict degrez et vng sixiesme 180° de la haulteur du polle artique⁵. Et depuys les montz Nostre Dame jusques à Canada et à Ochelaga⁶, toute la terre du su est toute belle terre, platte et belle campagne, toute couverte d'arbres jusques au bort de la mer. Et est la terre du cousté du nord plus haulte que celle du su; et en d'aulcuns lieux y a de haultes montaignes. Et dessoubz, la terre est toute glacée, environ vne brasse⁷. Et depuys l'isle des Liepvres jusques à l'isle d'Orléans, le fleuve n'a point passé de largeur quatre ou cinq lieues. Entre l'isle des Liepvres et la haulte terre du nord, n'y a point plus d'une lieue et demye de largeur de mer; et est proffund environ bien cent brasses ou plus, au meilleu de ladicte mer. En l'est de l'isle des Liepvres et en l'est suest, y a deux ou trois petites isles et rochiers⁸. Et depuys lesdictes isles jusques à l'isle d'Orléans⁹ ne sont que rochiers et bans de sable, avec forces isles; mesmement du cousté devers

¹ Cf. Littré, *Dictionnaire de la langue française*, IV, Paris, 1875, p. 1494: "Raz. Nom donné à deux courants très violents dans un passage très étroit."

² *Vid.* pp. 115 et seq. *supra*.

³ Hare island. *Vid.* p. 234 *supra*.

⁴ Basque island. Hakluyt's text has "Isle of Raquelle" by mistake.

⁵ Hare island lies in 47° 50'. Hakluyt has: "48. degrees and $\frac{1}{16}$ of a degree."

⁶ Hakluyt spells it: "Hochelaga."

⁷ The frost in winter penetrates to a very considerable depth. This remark must have been made by one who had wintered in the country; for in France the ground rarely freezes and then only to a slight depth and for a short period.

⁸ The long reef and the rocks at the north-east end of Hare island, and Red islet opposite the mouth of the Saguenay.

⁹ Hakluyt's text has: "Isle Des Coudres or of Filbeardes," but this is incorrect. The shoals and islands referred to are those between Coudres and Orleans islands. *Vid.* p. 119 *supra*.

le su, jusques aux deux tiers du fleuve, ce ne sont que rochiers. Et du cousté devers le nord, la mer est belle et bien proffunde. L'isle des Lièvres et l'isle des Couldres sont l'est nordest et ouest surouest; et y a de l'vn à l'autre douze lieues. Et pour éviter les dangiers, fault tousjours ranger la haulte terre du nord, parce que de l'autre cousté ne sont que rochiers et bans. Et fault passer du cousté du nord de l'isle des Couldres; et n'y a point plus d'vn quart de lieue de largeur, et fault aller par le meilleu. Et le plus seur est la passer de haulte mer, ou de basse mer du tout; parce que la mer y court fort et y a de grandz dangiers de rochiers, pour
 181^r raison de quoy, | il vous fault avoir ancrs qui soyent bonnes et bon cables¹. L'isle des Couldres est vne petite isle d'vne lieue ou environ de latitude, et demye lieue de largeur. Et est ladicte isle toute couverte d'arbres². Et est le chenal assés large devers le su; mais ce ne sont que bans de sables dangereux, en sorte que les navires n'y peuvent passer³. L'isle des Couldres est à quarente sept degrez et trois quartz de la haulteur du polle artique⁴. L'isle des Couldres et l'isle d'Orléans sont nordest et surouest; et y a de l'vn à l'autre dix lieues. Et fault tousjours venir au long de la haulte terre du nord, environ vng quart de lieue, parce que par le melleu du fleuve ne sont que bans et rochiers, comme dict est. Et quant vous serez le travers d'vn hault cap, lequel est rond⁵, vous traverserez du cousté du su, au su surouest et au quart du su, et irez par cinq, six et sept brasses⁶. Et icy se commence l'eaue douce de France Prime, et se achève l'eaue sallée⁷. Et quant vous serez le travers de la poincte de l'isle d'Orléans, où commence

¹ *Vid.* p. 232 *supra*. Hakluyt has merely: "And you must sayle in the midst of the channel: and in the midst runneth the best passage either at an hie or a low water."

² *Vid.* p. 118 *supra* and *Cf.* Bayfield, *op. cit.*, I, 318: "Coudres island is surmounted by wooded hills."

³ This is the passage known as South Traverse. *Vid.*, Bayfield, *op. cit.*, I, 286.

⁴ Coudres island lies in 47° 23'.

⁵ Cape Tourmente.

⁶ *Cf.* Bayfield, *op. cit.*, I, 321: "Eastern Narrows of North Traverse . . . lie 1½ miles south from cape Tourmente . . . The passage is only 1½ cables wide, with depths greater than 3 fathoms."

⁷ Hakluyt's text has: "and there the river of Canada beginneth to bee fresh, and the salt water endeth." The water does indeed first become fresh here at Grosse isle, the quarantine station. The river was called France Prime in honour of Francis I.

à estre l'eaue doulce, et achève l'eaue sallée, vous irez par le meilleu de la rivière, et laisserez l'isle du cousté de thiébert, qui est la main droicte. Et icy la rivière n'a point passé vng quart de lieue de latitude; néantmoins elle a vingt ou trente brasses de proffund¹. Et devers le cousté du su, y a vne bande d'isles, toutes couvertes d'arbres jusques au bort de la mer, et se achèvent lesdictes isles le travers de la poincte de l'isle d'Orléans². Et la poincte de l'isle d'Orléans du cousté du nordest est à quarente sept degrez et vng tiers de la haulteur du polle artique³. Et l'isle d'Orléans est vne belle isle toute couverte d'arbres jusques au bort de ladicte rivière doulce. Et a ladicte isle de longitude environ cinq ou six lieues, et de latitude vne lieue et demye⁴. Et du cousté du nord, y a vne aultre rivière⁵, laquelle n'est pas si proffunde que celle qui est du cousté du su, de laquelle dessus a esté faict mention. Toutesfoys elle n'a point si peu de font qu'il n'y passe bien navire, | et se va 181^v assembler ladicte rivière aulx deux boutz de l'isle d'Orléans⁶. Et du bout⁷ de l'isle d'Orléans jusques au lieu dict Canada, y a vne lieue, et dudict Canada jusques au fort que a faict faire le seigneur de Robertval, y a trois lieues⁸. Ladicte rivière est bien belle, large et proffunde, comme dict est. Toutes ces terres sont belles terres, et y a de toutes sortes d'arbres, comme il y a en France; et sont terre froides, fort subgetes à neiges, et à mal de jambes⁹ à cause que la terre, par dessoubz, environ deux ou trois piedz, est toute glacée¹⁰. Et la terre qui est par le dessus n'est que le fumier des feuilles des arbres; et y a en d'aulcuns lieux terre ferme et franche. Les gens sont belles gens, tant hommes que femmes, et ont la parolle rude et grosse; et vivent ès boys parce

¹ The charts give thirty fathoms off point Lévis whence the distance across to Quebec is only a quarter of a mile.

² These are the islands about Grosse isle. *Vid.* p. 119 *supra*.

³ Pointe Argentenaye, the north-eastern extremity of Orleans island, lies in 47° 1' 25".

⁴ *Vid.* pp. 119 *et seq. supra*.

⁵ The passage north of Orleans island. *Vid.* p. 120 *supra*, note 52.

⁶ Hakluyt's text has inserted here: "From the midst of the Isle unto Canada the River runneth West; and from the place of Canada unto France-Roy the river turneth West Southwest." This correctly describes the change in direction which takes place at Quebec.

⁷ Hakluyt's text gives, "West ende."

⁸ Hakluyt's text has, "and unto France-Roy 4 leagues." *Vid.* p. 265 *supra*.

⁹ The scurvy. *Vid.* p. 204 *supra*.

¹⁰ *Cf.* pp. 185 and 210-211 *supra*.

qu'ilz n'ont lieu certain; car ilz ne font que courir d'une terre à l'autre¹. Les femmes, quant elles sont jeunes, sont communes à tous, jusques à certain temps, et en font escolles². Et puy quant elles viennent à soy marier sont chastes, qui est qu'elles n'ont point de congnoissance d'autres que de leurs maritz. Et sont bonnes gens bien doux, de manière qu'ilz ne font mal à personne, si on ne leur en faict. Et dudict fort à Ochelaga y a quatre vingtz lieues³. Ledict fort de Canada est par les quarente sept degrez et vng sixain de la haulteur du polle artique⁴. Et Ochelaga est à quarente six degrez et demy de ladicte haulteur⁵. Ochelaga est terre beaucoup meilleure que celle de Canada, et sont les habitans d'icelle plus raisonnables. Toutesfoys on ne sçait que c'est qu'ilz croyent, ny quel dieu ilz adorent, tant les vng que les aultres. En icelle terre se cueulle force milg, duquel ilz se nourrissent avec le poisson qu'ilz prennent en la rivière et en la mer; car ce sont grandz pescheurs de toutes sortes de poisson,
 182^r comme anguilles, lousps marins, saulmons, | alouses, marsoins, grandz quasy comme ballaines⁶, et d'autres plus petitz. Et y a au sable, d'au long la rivière, des coquilles faictes comme perles et comme pallords, qui se manjent à la Rochelle, qui sont bonnes, et sont fort grands. Et en ces terres n'y a aultre chose que cristal et setoin⁷, comme j'ay veu. Et quant vous serez au bout de l'isle⁸, vous verrez vne grosse rivière, qui tumble d'une roche en bas, quinze ou vingt brasses, et faict vng grand bruiet⁹. Et est Canada et le cap de Ratz de la Jart, qui est en Poictou, l'est et ouest, et sont en vne mesme haulteur¹⁰. Et toutes ces terres de

¹ This statement shows that Roberval and Alfonse had to do only with the Algonkins and Montagnais who had no fixed villages.

² Cf. p. 182 *supra*.

³ The distance from Montreal to Quebec is 138 miles.

⁴ Quebec Citadel Observatory stands in 46° 48' 23". Hakluyt's text gives, further on: "The Fort of France-roy stands in 47 degrees, and one sixt part of a degree."

⁵ Montreal Cathedral stands in 45° 30' 24".

⁶ *Vid.* pp. 117-118 *supra*.

⁷ Etain.

⁸ At the west end of Orleans island.

⁹ Montmorency falls, which are 251 feet high.

¹⁰ Cf. Musset's edition p. 153: "De ladicte isle de Rey jusques à l'isle Dieu y a seize lieues . . . Et entre les deux est la rivière de Jart, et la rivière d'Aulonne. Et cecy est le pays de Poictou." The river Jard enters the Atlantic a little north of the *Ile de Ré* in lat. 46° 25'.

Canada par raison doibvent estre appellées la Nouvelle France, parce qu'elles sont en vne mesme haulteur¹. Et si elle estoit aussi bien peuplée que France, mon advis est qu'elle seroit aussi attemperée; mais la terre est tant couverte d'arbres, et y est la rivière douce, laquelle est plus naturellement froide que la mer, et est ladicte rivière tant large et proffunde de manière, en d'aulcuns lieux d'elle, a bien demye lieue de large ou plus, qui cause que la terre est si froide², combien que le soleil, à son midy, est aussi hault qu'il est à midy à la Rochelle. Et faict son midy quant le soleil est au surouest et quart de su. Et icy l'estoille du nord, par le compas, demeure au nord est et quart de nord³. Et quant à la Rochelle est midy, à Canada n'est que six heures de jour⁴. Et d'icy à la mer Occéane, à la coste de la Franciscane⁵, n'y a point passé cinquante lieues. Et à l'entrée de Norombègue y peult avoir cent cinquante lieues. Et de Norombègue⁶ à la Fleuride y a environ trois cens lieues, et de la Fleuride⁷ à Ochelaga y a quatre vingtz lieues. Et de Ochelaga à l'isle des Raisins⁸ y a trente lieues. Et pense que Norombègue vient entrer jusques à la rivière de France Prime⁹ et à la mer du Saguenay. Et depuys

¹ That is in the same latitude as France. Cf. Hakluyt's text: "The extension of all these islands, upon iust occasion is called New France. For it is as good and as temperate as France, and in the same latitude."

² Hakluyt's text has: "And the reason wherefore it is colder in the Winter is, because the fresh River is naturally more colde then the Sea; and it is also broad and deepe: and in some places it is halfe a league and above in breadth. And also because the land is not tyllled, nor full of people, and is all full of Woods, which is the cause of colde, because there is not store of fire nor cattle."

³ The compass variation at Quebec in 1894 was 17° 30' W.

⁴ The difference in time between Paris and New York is six hours and five minutes. Hakluyt's text has: "And when at Rochel it is noone, it is but halfe an houre past nine at France-Roy."

⁵ Hakluyt's text has, "the coast of New France." The distance as the crow flies from Quebec to the head of Penobscot bay on the coast of Maine is roughly 200 miles.

⁶ Hakluyt's text has, "And from the entrance of Norumbega," etc.

⁷ Hakluyt's text has, "and from this place of France-Roy to Hochelaga," etc. but this statement has already been made at p. 296 *supra*. The distance as the crow flies from Montreal to the head of Chesapeake bay, almost in the same longitude, is roughly 500 miles.

⁸ Evidently one of the islands at the head of lake St. Peter. *Vid.* p. 144 *supra*. Hakluyt's text has "Isle of Rasus."

⁹ Hakluyt's text has, "river of Canada."

182^v le fort de Canada¹ jusques hors la | Grand baye², il n'y a que deux cens trente lieues; et la route n'est que l'est nordest et ouest surouest, qui sont cinq degrez et vng tiers de degré³ à quarente six lieues et demye par degré par droicte haulteur⁴. Les terres en tirant vers Ochelaga sont beaucoup meilleures et plus chaudes que celles de Canada; et tient ceste terre de Ochelaga au Figuyer et au Pérou, en laquelle abunde or et argent⁵. Veu aussi que ceulx de la terre dient que en la ville nommée Cebola⁶, qui est par les trente et cinq degrez de la haulteur du polle artique, les maisons sont toutes couvèrtes d'or et d'argent, et sont serviz en vaisseaulx d'or et d'argent. Ces terres tiennent à la Tartarie, et pense que ce soit le bout de l'Azie selon la rondeur du monde⁷. Et pour ce, il seroit bon avoir vng navire petit de soixante et dix tonneaulx pour descouvrir la coste de la Fleuride⁸; car j'ay esté en vne baye jusques à quarente et deux degrez entre Norombègue et la Fleuride, mais n'ay pas veu du tout le fond, et ne sçay s'il passe plus avant⁹. Et y a en toutes ces terres grand quantité d'arbres et de plusieurs sortes, comme chaignes, fraignes, cèdres, ciprez, hommeaulx, arables, fayens, arbres de vye, qui portent médecine; ilz ont la gosme blanche comme neige; pyns privés, desquelz on faict les

¹ Hakluyt's text gives, "Fort of France-Roy."

² The strait of Belle Isle. *Vid.* p. 76 *supra*, note 9.

³ Quebec Citadel Observatory stands in lat. 46° 48' 23" and Belle-Isle north lighthouse is 51° 53' which makes a difference of 5° 4' 37".

⁴ Hakluyt's text has, "and reckon 16 leagues and an halfe to a degree," whereby he has evidently understood degrees of longitude, of which according to Alfonse "chascun degré est taxé à dix sept lieues et demye." Musset's edition p. 81. The distance from one degree of latitude to another is sixty-nine miles and a fraction.

⁵ Hakluyt's text has: "And this is fitte for Figges and Peares. And I thinke that golde and silver will be found here, according as the people of the country say."

⁶ Cibola. Cf. Mr. G. P. Winship's excellent paper, *The Coronado Expedition 1540-1542* in the *Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology to Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution*, 329-613, Washington, 1896 where the maps which give the name are also reproduced. *Vid.* also Victor Mindeleff, *A Study of Pueblo Architecture, Tusayan and Cibola*, in the *Eighth Annual Report of the Bureau*, 80 *et seq.*, Washington, 1891.

⁷ Hakluyt's text has: "These landes lye over against Tartarie, and I doubt not but that they stretch toward Asia, according to the roundnesse of the world."

⁸ Hakluyt's text has, "the coast of New France on the backe side of Florida."

⁹ Probably Cape Cod or Boston bay.

matz de navires, trambles, boulz, lesquelz ressemblent à cerisiers. Et y a des cèdres fort gros. Aussi y a forces noix et nusilles, et y a esté trouvé prunes rouges de manière de ces prunes que nous appellons coubrejau. Aussi y a force poix de la nature de la terre¹ et forces groiselles et fraizes. Aussi² y a forces bestes saulvaiges comme cerfz, biches, porcs espitz, outardes, grues, oyes saulvaiges, chocaes, tourtres, corbins, grolles aillés, et plusieurs aultres oyseaulx | et bestes. Et y a de petitz serppens comme yl y a en 183^r France et de la mesme sorte. Et dient les saulvaiges que y a des lycornes. Et toute chose que l'on y sème n'est que deux ou trois jours à venir sur terre. Le bled y croist si bien que j'ay compté en vne espy de bled six vingtz grains, mesme grain que celluy de France, lequel avoit faict semer Jacques Quartier. Et la terre est si bonne que si vous le semez en mars, il sera mûr à la my aoust. Les eaues y sont beaucoup meilleures³ qu'elles ne sont en France. Et mon advis est tel, que si la terre estoit labourée et plaine de gens, qu'elle seroit aussi chaulde que la Rochelle. Et qui cause qu'il y neige si souvent⁴, c'est que quant il pleut, la pluye se convertist en neige⁵. Et n'y pleut sinon du vent vers oriant; et devers occident n'y pleut point⁶. Et devers le vent de septentrion y a abundance de neiges, et y neige si fort en novembre, decembre, janvier et febvrier que la neige monte bien environ la haulteur de six piedz. Il y a d'aussi belles forestz comme est au monde possible de veoir. En ceste mer de Canada y a vng poisson en fasson de balaine, quasi aussi grand, et est blanc comme neige, et a la gueulle comme vng cheval⁷. Et y a aultres poissons lesquelz aussi semblent à elléfans, et ont corne comme lesdictz elléfans, et descendent en terre⁸. Et y a de petitz marsouyns, qui ne sont point plus grandz que tonynes. Et y en a d'aultres aussi grandz que petites ballaines lesquelz sont appelez chevaulx, et se gectent

¹ Hakluyt's text has: "And very faire corne groweth there, and peason grow on their owne accord."

² Hakluyt's text has inserted before this: "And there are goodly Forrests, wherein men may hunt. And there are great store of Stagges," etc.

³ Hakluyt's text has, "better and perfecter."

⁴ Hakluyt's text has, "oftener then in France."

⁵ The English version in Hakluyt ends here with the words: "All things above mentioned, are true. John Alphonse made this Voyage with Monsieur Roberval."

⁶ This is just the contrary to what happens in Europe.

⁷ The beluga. *Vid.* p. 117 *supra*.

⁸ Walruses. *Vid.* pp. 34 and 110 *supra*.

en l'air à plus de dix brasses de hault. Et y a d'aultres poissons que nous appellons esturjons.

Puis que nous avons parlé de la coste de la Terre Neufve jusques au septentrion¹ et jusques à la terre du Laboureur², et de la mer de la Nouvelle France, appelée Canada, c'est raison de
 183^v parler du cap de Ratz, ensuyvant la | coste de la Franciscane jusques à la Fleuride et l'ance du Figuier devers le septentrion³. Le cap de Ratz, comme j'ay dict, est à quarente et sept degrez moins dix mynutes de la haulteur du polle artique⁴. Ledict cap et le port saint Christofle⁵ sont l'est et ouest, et prennent vng quart de norouest et suest; et y a de l'vn à l'autre neuf lieues. Le cap de Chincete⁶ est auprès de la pescherie saint Christofle. Le cap de sainte Marie⁷ et les isles de saint Pierre⁸ sont l'est suest et ouest norouest; et y a en la traverse quarente et six lieues⁹. Et quant vous partirez du cap de Ratz sept ou huyt lieues en la mer, irez à ouest norouest quérir les isles de saint Pierre, pour raison que à l'entour du cap [sainte Marie] et au long la coste y a des rochiers, qui boutent loing en la mer et sont dangereux¹⁰. Et du cap de Ratz jusques aux isles de saint Pierre y a quarente lieues¹¹. Et si vous voulez aller par le destroit des Bretons¹², passerez bort à bort du Coulombier, de quelque cousté que vous vouldrez. Ce Colombier est vng islet, et est dict Colombier parce qu'il y a forces oyseaulx¹³. Passerez entre les isles de saint

¹ Alfonso includes our Labrador in *Terre Neufve*.

² Our Greenland.

³ Cf. p. 278, note 4.

⁴ Cf. p. 279, note 3.

⁵ Trepassey harbour. The MS. has *Xpofle*.

⁶ Perhaps cape Pine the south-western extremity of Trepassey bay.

⁷ The southern extremity of the peninsula separating St. Mary's and Placentia bays.

⁸ St. Pierre and Miquelon islands. *Vid.* p. 239 *supra*.

⁹ St. Pierre is about sixty-five miles from cape St. Mary. There is evidently some confusion here with the distance from cape Race. *Vid.* note 11 *infra*.

¹⁰ Such as Freels rock near cape Pine, Lance rock, Bull and Cow, St. Mary Cay and False Cay off cape St. Mary and Cloué and Tylor rocks off the south-western extremity of Placentia bay.

¹¹ Cape Race is about 126 miles from St. Pierre.

¹² Cabot strait.

¹³ Cf. Maxwell, *op. cit.*, 120: "Great Colombier island, 485 feet above high water, is bold, dark and steep and lies off the north-east end of St. Pierre"; and Jukes, *op. cit.*, I, 93: "Just north of St. Pierre, and separated from it by a narrow channel is a small lofty island called Colombier. Its resemblance to a dove-cot arises from the multitudes of puffins which breed there, and are always flying about it in great flocks."

Pierre et la terre des Dunes¹. Et de là ferez la route au nord norouest jusques environ vingt et cinq lieues, que vous trouverez vne terre rouge², et irez à l'ouest norouest le long de la coste aultres vingt cinq lieues. Et icy trouverez vne isle nommée l'isle saint Jehan, qui est au melleu du destroict, et plus près de la terre des Bretons que de la Terre Neufve³. Ceste entrée des Bretons a douze lieues de latitude⁴; et est en la haulteur de quarente sept degrez et demy de la haulteur du polle artique, et à quarente sept moins vng quart la coste des Bretons⁵. De ceste isle de saint Jehan à l'isle de l'Ascension, qui est en la mer de Canada, | y a 184^r quarente lieues⁶; et la route est norouest et suest, et prent vng quart de l'est et ouest. Ladicte isle de saint Jehan et l'isle de Bryon⁷ et l'isle des Oyseaulx⁸ sont l'est et ouest, et y a en la traverse quarente lieues. Ladicte isle de Bryon et ladicte isle des Oyseaulx sont par les quarente sept degrez de la haulteur du polle artique⁹. L'isle de Sable¹⁰, qui est au dedans de la mer de Canada, et la baye des Liepvres¹¹ sont est nordest et ouest surouest, et y a en la route quarente lieues. Ladicte isle de Sable est à quarente

¹ Miquelon island the two parts of which are connected by "The Dunes;" "a fine sand beach," says Jukes (*op. cit.*, I, 94) "connecting the two islands of Great and Little Miquelon."

² Red island beside Wolf bay and just beyond the Ramea group of islands. Cf. Maxwell, *op. cit.*, 181: "Red island . . . so named from the colour of its outer cliffs, is divided into two parts . . . the inner of a wooded cone 377 feet, and the outer a flat-topped hill, with a white summit 326 feet above high water." The line from here to St. Pierre which is about seventy-five miles away clears all the islands along that part of the coast.

³ St. Paul island thirteen miles from cape North. Cf. Maxwell, *op. cit.*, 228-229: "St. Paul island, lying in Cabot strait, between the south-west extreme of Newfoundland and the north extreme of Cape Breton island, is nearly 3 miles long by one mile broad . . . The island, which is . . . precipitous toward the sea, has two parallel ranges of hills, that on the eastern coast being the higher, and attaining an elevation of 500 feet."

⁴ The distance from St. Paul island to cape Ray is about forty-three miles. The latitude is correct.

⁵ Cape North lies in 47° 2'.

⁶ Anticosti lies about 132 miles from St. Paul island.

⁷ *Vid.* pp. 34 and 235 *supra*.

⁸ The Bird rocks are only fifty-six miles N.N.W. from St. Paul island. *Vid.* pp. 30-32 *supra*.

⁹ North Bird rock lies in 47° 50' 57", and Brion island in about 47° 47'.

¹⁰ The Magdalens. *Vid.* pp. 236-237 *supra*.

¹¹ Probably the western end of Northumberland strait. Miramichi bay is not round. *Vid.* pp. 40-44 *supra*.

six degrez et demy de la haulteur du polle artique¹; et la baye des Liepvres, qui est vne baye ronde, est à quarente cinq degrez et trois quartz de ladicte haulteur². Et d'icy tourne la coste du septentrion nord nordest et su surouest environ quarente lieues jusques à la baye de Onguedo³, qui est à quarente lieues de l'isle de l'Ascension. Retournant au cap de Ratz, qui est en la mer Occéane en la Terre Neufve, je dictz que le cap de Ratz et le cap des Bretons⁴, le plus dehors en la mer Occéane, qui est vne isle, appelée aussi saint Jehan⁵, sont l'est nordest et ouest surouest; et y a en la route quatre vingtz lieues⁶. Ledict cap à Breton de la mer Occéane est par les quarente cinq degrez de la haulteur du polle artique⁷. Au suest du cap de Ratz y a deux isles perdues, qui sont appellées les isles de saint Jehan d'Estevan⁸; et sont perdues à cause qu'elles estoyent de sable. Et y a quarente lieues d'elles au cap de Ratz; et sont par les quarente cinq degrez de la haulteur | du polle artique; et sont fort dangereuses. A soixante

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¹ The Magdalens extend from 47° 12' 30'' to 47° 38' 40''.

² The west end of Northumberland strait is in 46° 30'.

³ Gaspé bay. *Vid.* p. 289 *supra*.

⁴ Cape Breton. *Cf.* Bayfield, *op. cit.*, II, 302: "Cape Breton, the extreme eastern point of Cape Breton island, is low, rocky and covered with grassy moors."

⁵ Scatari island lying just to the north of cape Breton. *Cf.* Bayfield, *op. cit.*, II, 303: "Scatari island, forming the extreme eastern dependency of Cape Breton island, is in shape a triangle, the longest side of which faces the north, and extends 5 miles; while a line at right angles to it, and terminating at Howe point, the southern extremity of the island, gives an extreme breadth of 2 miles. The natural features of this island are similar to those of the adjacent mainland, the highest hill rising 190 feet above the sea." It is given on Reinel's map in Kohl, *op. cit.*, 177, N° IX.

⁶ The distance from Scatari island to cape Race is about 274 miles.

⁷ Cape Breton stands in 45° 57'.

⁸ *Cf.* the *Islario general* of Alonso de Santa Cruz in the Biblioteca nacional, Madrid, MS. J. 92, fol. 297: "Al medio dia desta tierra de los Bacallaos y de la baya de Santa Maria por cinquenta leguas està una isla llamada Juan Estevez laqual se dixo assi por un piloto que la descubrió assi llamado, viniendo a pescar aqui." This extract is also printed in HARRISSE, *Découverte et évolution cartographique de Terre-Neuve*, 119. The island is given on the Freducci map (HARRISSE, *op. cit.*, 81-82); on the Ribero and Viegas maps (Kohl, *op. cit.*, N°s XVI and XVIII^a); on the Riccardiana map and the Harleian mappemonde (HARRISSE, *op. cit.*, plates VI and XII); and on Mercator's map of 1569 (Kohl, *op. cit.*, N° XXII). The Miller map N° 1 (HARRISSE, *op. cit.*, plate VII) alone gives them as a group. The Desceliers mappemonde has y^e de Jhan Estienne. *Vid.* plates I, VIII and XII pp. 1, 128 and 192.

et quinze lieues en la mer, au su du cap de Ratz, y a vne aultre isle appellée sainte Croix¹; et est par les quarente et vng degrez de la haulteur du polle artique. Au su surouest dudict cap de Ratz, à quatre vingtz lieues en la mer, y a aussi vne isle nommée Bardan², et est toute de sable; et est par les quarente deux degrez de la haulteur du polle artique. Au suest du cap à Breton³, trente lieues en la mer Occéane, y a vne aultre isle, qui est aussi toute de sable⁴; et est norouest et suest avec l'aultre isle de Bardan⁵, et y a de l'vn à l'aultre trente lieues. Et est par les quarente et quatre degrez de la haulteur du polle artique⁶. Et au su dudict cap de Ratz, cent cinq lieues en la mer, y a vne aultre isle, qui s'appelle le Héron; et est par les trente huyt degrez et demy de la haulteur du polle artique. Et au su et quart de suest du cap à Breton³, environ trois cens lieues, y a vne isle grande, appellée les Sept Citez⁷, qui est vne grande isle. Et y a plusieurs gens qui l'ont veue, comme aussi ay faict, et ce certiffie; mais je ne sçay qu'il y a dedans, car je n'ay descendu en terre. Et est par les vingt huyt degrez et demy de la haulteur du polle artique. Tour-nant à l'isle de saint Jehan⁸, qui est dite cap à Breton⁹, le plus dehors en la mer Occéane, qui est par les trente¹⁰ et cinq degrez de la haulteur du polle artique, je dictz que le cap de saint Jehan, dict cap à Breton, et le cap de la Franciscane¹¹ sont nordest et surouest, et prennent vng quart de l'est et ouest; et y a en la route cent quarente lieues. Et icy faict vng cap appellé le cap de Norombègue¹². Cedict cap est par les quarente et vng degrez de la haulteur du polle artique." etc.

¹ This island is given on the Reinell map (Kohl, *op. cit.*, N° IX and Harris, *op. cit.*, plate V) and again in the Riccardiana atlas (Harris, *op. cit.*, plate VI). It is mentioned also in the Letters patent to Fagundes issued on 13 March, 1521. Cf. E. A. de Bettencourt, *Descobrimentos, guerras e conquistas dos Portuguezes em terras do ultramar nos seculos XV e XVI*, p. 133, Lisboa, 1881-1882.

² St. Brandan's island which figured on medieval maps. Cf. C. Raymond Beazley, *The Dawn of Modern Geography*, 230-239, London, 1897; and P. Gaffarel, *Histoire de la découverte de l'Amérique*, I, 205-209. Paris, 1892.

³ Cape Breton mentioned above p. 302, note 4.

⁴ Sable island which lies eighty-five miles from the nearest part of Nova Scotia. Cf. Dr. G. Patterson's paper in *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, 1st series, XII, ii, 3-49.

⁵ St. Brandan's island.

⁶ Sable island extends from 43° 58' 57" to 43° 56' 24".

⁷ Another medieval island. Cf. Gaffarel, *op. cit.*, I, 209-215. ⁸ Scatari island.

⁹ Cape Breton. ¹⁰ This should be *quarente* as above p. 302.

¹¹ Cape Cod. ¹² Cape Malabar in 41° 30'.

APPENDIX III.

A BRIEF NOTE OF THE MORSE AND THE USE THEREOF.¹

In the first voyage of Jaques Carthier, wherein he discovered the Gulfe of S. Laurence and the said Isle of Ramea², in the yeere 1534 . . . he met with these beasts³, as he witnesseth in these words. *About the said Island⁴ are very great beasts as great as oxen, which have two great teeth in their mouthes like unto Elephants teeth, and live also in the sea. Wee saw one of them sleeping upon the banke of the water, and thinking to take it, we went to it with our boates, but so soone as he heard us, he cast himselfe into the sea.* Touching these beasts with Jaques Carthier saith to be as big as Oxen and to have teeth in their mouthes like Elephants teeth : True it is that they are called in latine *Boves Marini*, or *Vaccæ Marinæ*, & in the Russian tongue Morsses, the hides whereof I have seene as big as any Oxe hide, and being dressed I have yet a piece of one thicker then any two Oxe or Bulls hides in England. The Leatherdressers take them to be excellent good to make light targets against the arrowes of the Savages; and I hold them farre better then the light leather targets which the Moores use in Barbarie against arrowes and lances, whereof I have seen divers in her Maiesties⁵ stately Armorie in the towre of London. The teeth of the sayd fishes, whereof I have seene a dryfat⁶ full at once, are a foote and some times more in length: & have been sold in England to the combe & knife-makers, at 8 groats⁷ and 3 shillings the pound weight, whereas the best Ivory is sold for halfe the money : the graine of the bone is somewhat more yellow than the Ivorie. One M. Alexander Woodson of Bristoll my old friend, an excellent Mathematician and skilful Phisition, shewed me one of these beasts teeth which were brought from the Isle of Ramea in the first prize, which was half a yard long or very litle lesse; and assured mee that he had made tryall of it in ministring medicine to his patients, and had found it as soveraigne against poyson as any Unicornes horne.

¹ From Hakluyt's *Principall Navigations*, III, 191, London, 1600.

² The Magdalens. ³ Walruses. ⁴ Brion island. *Vid.* pp. 33-34 *supra*.

⁵ Queen Elizabeth's. ⁶ A packing-case. ⁷ The groat was a four-penny piece.

APPENDIX IV.¹

TO MAKE A GOOD FIRE-LANCE.

If you wish to make a good fire-lance take a very slight scantling from three and a half to four feet in length and hollow it out from one end to the other to the size of a tennis-ball. Then plane the wood to the same thickness everywhere. Insert a wooden plug about half-a-foot from one end and nail it with small nails. Then bind your scantling everywhere with a small cord and to the thickness of a palm at the end. Take next two parts of tar and two parts of sulfur, and mix them with a little tallow or grease and a little coarse powder, and with this smear your scantling. Then take the following mixture, 12 lbs. of saltpetre, 6 lbs. of sulfur, 6 of canon powder, 2 of powdered lead, a little broken glass, 2 of mercury (there is no necessity to use orpiment, sublimate or arsenic, unless you wish; for they only serve to poison the smoke). Beat each of these up by themselves and then mix them together with some petroleum or oil of tartar and in default of these with linseed oil. Next take some balls of thread of a size to enter the hollow of your scantling and dip them into the mixture to such an extent that they become easily inflammable. Then begin to charge your scantling as follows. First take a handful of coarse powder and place it at the bottom of your scantling. Ram it but slightly. Next insert a ball and place it next the powder. Then a little of the mixture itself on top of the ball and ram it a little. Next another handful of powder as before and another ball, and continue thus until the scantling is full, but the amount of powder must be steadily increased so that the last charge amounts to two handfulls. On top of your last ball place about a finger's length of the mixture and some coarse powder on top to prime it. Next some resin with a bit of canvas over it to keep the water off. At the other end where there is the plug, insert a stick from seven to eight feet in length and nail it with two or three small nails. To make use of it, take off the covering over the mouth of it as far as the prime and light it. With it you will be able to defend a breach or any narrow opening; for the fire from a good lance is the most terrible there is next to artillery.

¹Translated from MS. fr. 3890, fols. C 26^v-C 27^v, at the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, entitled *Livre de guerre, tant par mer que par terre, et l'opération des feu gorgoys et aultres . . . par moy Jehan Bytharne, cannonier du roy*. The above will be found among the notes at the end of the volume which was finished June 5, 1543.

APPENDIX V.

Extracts from the late Sir Daniel Wilson's Paper :

THE HURON-IROQUOIS OF CANADA.

" The palisaded Indian town of Hochelaga, one of the chief urban centres of the Huron-Iroquois tribes in the older home of the race, and a sample of the later Huron defences on the Georgian Bay, stood, in the sixteenth century, at the foot of Mount Royal, whence the city of Montreal takes its name; and some of the typical skulls of its old occupants, as well as flint implements and pottery from its site, are now preserved in the museum of McGill University. The latter relics reveal no more than had long been familiar in the remains which abound within the area of the Iroquois confederacy, and elsewhere throughout the eastern states of North America. Their earthenware vessels were decorated with herring-bone and other incised patterns; and their tobacco-pipes and the handles of their clay bowls were, at times, rudely modelled into human and animal forms. Their implements of flint and stone were equally rude. They had inherited no more than the most infantile savage arts; and when those were at length superseded, in some degree, by implements and weapons of European manufacture, they prized the more effective weapon, but manifested no desire for mastering the arts to which it was due. To all appearance, through unnumbered centuries, the tide of human life has ebbed and flowed in the valley of the St. Lawrence as unprogressively as on the great steppes of Asia. Such footprints as the wanderers have left on the sands of time tell only of the unchanging recurrence of generations of men as years and centuries came and passed away. Illustrations of native art are now very familiar to us. The ancient flint-pits have been explored; and the flint-cores and rough-hewn nodules recovered. The implements of war and the chase were the work of the Indian brave. His spears and arrowheads, his knives, chisels, celts and hammers, in flint and stone, abound. Fish-hooks, lances or spears, awls, bodkins, and other implements of bone and deer's horn, are little less common. The highest efforts of artistic skill were expended on the carving of his stone pipe, and fashioning the pipe-stem. The pottery, the work of female hands, is usually

in the simplest stage of coarse, hand-made, fictile ware. The patterns, incised on the soft clay, are the conventional reproductions of the grass or straw plaiting; or, at times, the actual impressions of the cordage or wicker-work by which the larger clay vessels were held in shape, to be dried in the sun before they were imperfectly burned in the primitive kiln. But the potter also indulged her fancy at times in modelling artistic devices of men and animals, as the handles of the smaller ware, or the forms in which the clay tobacco-pipe was wrought. Nevertheless the Northern continent lingered to the last in its primitive stage of neolithic art; and its most northern were its rudest tribes, until we pass within the Arctic circle, and come in contact with the ingenious handiwork of the Eskimo. Southward beyond the great lakes, and especially within the area of the Mound-Builders, a manifest improvement is noticeable. Alike in their stone carvings and their modelling in clay, the more artistic design and better finish of industrious settled communities are apparent. Still further to the south, the diversified ingenuity of fancy, especially in the pottery, is suggestive of an influence derived from Mexican and Peruvian art. The carved work of some western tribes was also of a higher character. But taking such work at its best, it cannot compare in skill or practical utility, with the industrial arts of Europe's neolithic age. This region has been visited and explored by Europeans for fully three centuries and a half, during a large portion of which time they have been permanent settlers. Its soil has been turned up over areas of such wide extent that the results may be accepted, with little hesitation, as illustrations of the arts and social life subsequent to the occupation of the continent by its earliest aboriginal races. But we look in vain for evidence of an extinct native civilization. However, far back the presence of Man in the new world may be traced, throughout the Northern continent at least, he seems never to have attained to any higher stage than what is indicated by such evidences of settled occupation as were shown in the palisaded Indian town of Hochelaga."

"Who were the people found by Cartier in 1535, seemingly long settled and prosperous, occupying the fortified towns of Stadaconé and Hochelaga, and lower points on the St. Lawrence? The question is not without a special interest to Canadians. According to the native Wyandot historian, they were Wyandots

or Hurons and Senecas. That they were Huron-Iroquois, at any rate, and not Algonkins, is readily determined. We owe to Cartier two brief vocabularies of their language, which, though obscured probably in their original transcription, and corrupted by false transliterations in their transference to the press, leave no doubt that the people spoke a Huron-Iroquois dialect. To which of the divisions it belonged is not so obvious. The languages, in the various dialects, differ only slightly in most of the words which Cartier gives. Sometimes they agree with Huron, and sometimes with Iroquois equivalents. The name of Hochelaga, "at the beaver-dam," is Huron, and the agreement as a whole preponderates in favor of a Huron rather than an Iroquois dialect. But there was probably less difference between the two then, than at the more recent dates of their comparison. In dealing with this important branch of philological evidence, I owe to the kindness of my friend, Mr. Horatio Hale, a comparative analysis of the vocabulary supplied by Cartier, embodying the results of long and careful study. He has familiarized himself with the Huron language by personal intercourse with members of the little band of civilized Wyandots, settled on their reserve at Anderdon, in Western Ontario. The language thus preserved by them, after long separation from other members of the widely scattered race, probably presents the nearest approximation to the original forms of the native tongue, as spoken on the island of Montreal and the lower St. Lawrence. In the following comparative table the Wyandot equivalents to the words furnished in Cartier's lists are placed along side of them, so as to admit of easy comparison. The resemblances which are discernible to the experienced philologist may not strike the general reader with the like force of conviction. Allowance has to be made for varieties of dialect among the old occupants of the lower valley of the St. Lawrence, and also for the changes wrought on the Huron language in the lapse of three and a half centuries, not simply by time, but also as the result of intercourse and intermixture with other peoples¹. The habit of recruiting their

¹ Cf. Sagard, *Dictionnaire de la langue huronne* (Paris, 1632), p. 9: "Nos Hurons, & generalmente toutes les autres Nations, ont la mesme instabilité de langage, & changent tellement leurs mots, qu'à succession de temps l'ancien Huron est presque tout autre que celui du present, & change encore, selon que i'ay peu coniecturer & apprendre en leur parlant." Editor's note.

numbers by the adoption of prisoners and broken tribes could not fail to exercise some influence on the common tongue. The *k* or hard *g* of Cartier is, in the Wyandot, frequently softened to a *y*; and on the other hand, the *n* is strengthened by a *d* sound, as in Cartier's pregnant term *Canada*, the old Hochelaga word for a town, which has become in the Wyandot *Yandata*; and so in other instances. When the spelling of Cartier's words varies in different places or editions of his narrative, the various forms are here given. In writing the Wyandot words the consonants are used with their English sounds, except that the *j* is to be pronounced as in French (English *z* in "azure"), and *n* has the sound of the French nasal *n*. The vowels have the same sounds as in Italian and German.

Some of the Wyandot words placed in the following lists alongside of those furnished by Cartier are not, as will be seen transformations of the old forms, but synonyms, or equivalents now in use. Others, however, show the changes which have taken place, under the novel circumstances which have affected the scattered Huron fugitives in the interval of upwards of three centuries. This is particularly noticeable in the numerals, where the greater number of the modern words are imperfect abbreviations of the original forms. This process of phonetic change and decay is more fully illustrated in subsequent tables of Huron-Iroquois numerals.

A COMPARATIVE VOCABULARY OF WORDS IN THE "LANGUAGE OF HOCHELAGA AND CANADA," AS GIVEN BY CARTIER, AND THE CORRESPONDING WORDS IN THE LANGUAGE OF THE WYANDOT (OR WENDAT) INDIANS RESIDING ON THE RESERVE IN THE TOWNSHIP OF ANDERDON, NEAR AMHERSTBURG, ONTARIO: BY MR. HORATIO HALE.

	CARTIER.	WYANDOT.
One.....	segada, secata.....	skât.
Two.....	tigneny, tignem.....	tendi.
Three.....	asche, hasche.....	sheñk.
Four.....	honnacon, honnaceon.....	dâk, or ndak.
Five.....	ouison.....	wish.
Six.....	indahir, indaic.....	wajā, or wayā.
Seven.....	ayaga, aiaga.....	tsutaré.
Eight.....	addegue, adigue.....	ateré.
Nine.....	madellon.....	entroñ.
Ten.....	assem.....	ahsēñ, or asāñ.
Twenty.....	.....	tenditawähseñ.
Thirty.....	.....	shenkiwähseñ.
One hundred.....	.....	skatamendjawe.
One thousand.....	.....	sañgwât.
Head.....	aggourzy, aggoursy, agonaze, aggonzi.	ayeskutafi (my h.)

	CARTIER.	WYANDOT.
Forehead.....	hetguenyascon.....	yeyēfītsa (my f.)
Eyes.....	hegata, heigata, igata.....	yahkwēfīda.
Ears.....	ahontascon.....	yehoŋīta, yaoŋīta (my e.)
Mouth.....	escahe.....	yeskāreut (my m.)
Teeth.....	esgougay.....	yeskofīshya (my t.)
Tongue.....	osuache, esuache.....	yendashya (my t.)
Face.....	hogouascon.....	yeyoŋīshya, yeyoŋīske (my f.)
Hair.....	aganiscon, agoniscon.....	ayerushia (my h.)
Arm.....	aiayascon.....	yeya'sya, hajasha.
Belly.....	eschehenda.....	yesemeŋīta (my b.)
Leg.....	agouguenehonde.....	yenoŋīta (my l.)
Foot.....	onchidascon, ochedasco.....	yashita (my f.)
Hand.....	aignoascon, agnascon.....	yorasā.
Fingers.....	agenoga.....	yegyāyi, haŋgīā.
Nails.....	agedascon.....	ē'ta, yeēhta (my n.)
Man.....	aguehan.....	rume (<i>homo</i>), haguayāŋī (<i>vir.</i>)
Woman.....	agrueste, agruette.....	utehkye, utēhkrefī.
Boy.....	addegesta.....	meŋtseŋīta.
Girl.....	agnyaquesta.....	yawitsinoha.
Infant.....	exiasta.....	shiāha.
Shoes.....	atha, atta.....	rashyu.
Corn.....	osizy.....	oneŋīha.
Water.....	ame.....	tsaŋdusti, or tskadusti.
Flesh.....	quahouascon.....	owāhtra.
Fish.....	queion.....	yēfītsōfī.
Squirrel.....	caiongem.....	huhtayi.
Snake.....	undeguezy (<i>couleuvre</i>).....	tyugentsi (snake).
Wood.....	conda.....	utahta (wood), yaroŋīta (tree).
Leaf.....	hoga, honga.....	undrahta.
Knife.....	agoheda.....	waneŋīshra.
Hatchet.....	addogne, asogne.....	tuyé.
Bow.....	ahena, ahenca.....	enda.
Arrow.....	quahetam.....	o'ondā.
Deer.....	aionnesta (stag), asquenondo (doe) ..	skanoŋītoŋī (deer).
Hare.....	sourhamda.....	taŋyoŋīyaha.
Dog.....	agayo.....	yafiyenō ¹ .
To-morrow.....	achide.....	ashitak.
Heaven.....	quenhia.....	yaroŋīya.
Earth.....	damga.....	ondēt (earth), omeŋītsa (world).
Sun.....	ysnay.....	yandīshra.
Moon.....	assomaha.....	wasuŋīteyi-yandīshra (night-sun).
Stars.....	siguehoham.....	tishyoŋī.
Wind.....	cahoha, cahena, cahona.....	yaora, jukwas.
Sea.....	agogasy, agougasy.....	uŋtare, tarijīye.
Island.....	cohenā.....	yawenda.
Mountain.....	ogacha.....	ononta, onontīja.
Ice.....	honnescā.....	udīshra.
Snow.....	canīsa.....	dīŋīyēŋīta, dīŋīyēhta.
Cold.....	cathau.....	ture.
Warm.....	odazan, adayan.....	tarihaati.
Fire.....	azīsta, asīsta.....	tsīsta, tshīsta.
House.....	canocha.....	yanoŋīsha.
Town.....	canada.....	yandāta.
My father.....	addathy.....	haīsta, haīstaŋī.

A COMPARATIVE VOCABULARY OF WORDS, ETC.—*Concluded.*

	CARTIER.	WYANDOT.
My mother.....	adanahoe, adhanaoe.....	anēaŋ, anā'ēfi.
My brother.....	addagnin.....	he'yēaŋ.
My sister.....	adhoasseue, addasene.....	eye'aŋ.
Beard.....	sotone.....	uskwaŋraŋ.
To sing.....	thegehoaca.....	tewariwākwe.
To laugh.....	cahezem.....	kyeskwatandī.
To dance.....	thegoaca.....	yendrawa.
My friend.....	agniaŋe.....	nyāterō (friend).
Run.....	thodoathady.....	yetake, tīarahtat.
Chief.....	agouhana.....	hayuwānefis.
Night.....	auhena.....	wasuŋteye.
Day.....	adeyahon.....	meteye, mentahāoŋ.
Pine-tree.....	annedda.....	handehta.

When Champlain followed Cartier into the St. Lawrence after an interval of sixty-eight years, the well-fortified towns had disappeared, along with their builders, and the few occupants of ephemeral birch-bark wigwams belonged to another race. Had he been curious to learn the facts of an event, then so recent, there could have been no difficulty in recovering the history of the exodus of the Hochelagans. But it had no interest for the French adventurers of that day; and the idea most generally favoured by recent writers ascribes the expulsion of the Wyandots, or Hurons, from their ancient home in eastern Canada, to the Algonkins¹. This, as already shown, is irreconcilable with the fact that Champlain found them, in the beginning of the seventeenth century, in friendly alliance with the latter against their common foe, the Iroquois. If, however, the Wyandot tradition of the expulsion of the Hurons from the island of Montreal by the Senecas be accepted as an historical fact, it is in no degree inconsistent with the circumstances subsequently reported by Champlain; but rather serves to account for some of them, if it is assumed that the Senecas were, in their turn, driven out by the Algonkins, and then finally withdrew beyond the St. Lawrence.

But there is another kind of evidence bearing on the question of the affinities of the people first met with by Cartier in 1535, which also has its value here. I have carefully compared the skulls found on the ancient site of Hochelaga, and now preserved

¹ *Vid.* p. 161 *supra* note 63.

in the Museum of McGill University, with some of the most characteristic Huron skulls in Laval University, and find that the two correspond closely. Again, the description of the palisaded towns of the Hurons on the Georgian Bay very accurately reproduces that which Cartier gives of Hochelaga¹. Ephemeral as such fortifications necessarily were, the construction of a rampart formed of a triple row of trunks of trees, surmounted with galleries, from whence to hurl stones and other missiles on their assailants, was a formidable undertaking for builders provided with no better tools than stone hatchets; and with no other means of transport than their united labour supplied². But the design had the advantage of furnishing a self-supporting wall, and so of saving the greater labour of digging a trench, with such inadequate tools, in soil penetrated everywhere with the roots of forest trees. It was the Huron-Iroquois system of military engineering, in which they contrasted favorably with the Algonkins, among whom the absence of such evidence of settled habits as those secure defences supplied, was characteristic of these ruder nomads . . . The pottery and implements found on the site of Hochelaga are also of the same character as many examples recovered from the Huron ossuaries³."

¹ *Vid.* p. 155 *supra* note 48.

■ *Cf.* Brent Van Curler's *Journal* in the *Annual Report of the Amer. Hist. Assoc.* for 1895, p. 90: "This castle has been surrounded by three rows of palisades . . . Six or seven pieces were so thick that it was quite a wonder that savages should be able to do that." Editor's note.

³ From *Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada for the Year 1884*, II, ii, 72-81.

APPENDIX VI.

A¹ LETTER WRITTEN TO M. JOHN GROWTE²
STUDENT IN PARIS, BY JAQUES NOEL OF S. MALO,
THE NEPHEW OF JAQUES CARTIER³ TOUCHING
THE AFORESAID DISCOVERY⁴.

Master Growte,

Your brother in law Giles Walter⁵ shewed me this morning a Mappe printed at Paris⁶, dedicated to one M. Hakluyt an English Gentleman: wherein all the West Indies, the kingdome of New Mexico, and the Countreys of Canada, Hochelaga and Saguenay are contained. I hold that the River of Canada⁷ which is described in that Mappe is not marked as it is in my booke, which is agreeable to the booke of Jaques Cartier⁸; and that the sayd Chart doth not marke or set downe *The great Lake*⁹, which is above the *Saults*, according as the Savages have advertised us, which dwell at the sayd *Saults*. In the foresayd Chart which you sent me hither¹⁰, the *Great Lake* is placed too much toward the North¹¹. The *Saults* or falles of the River stand in 44. degrees of latitude¹²: it is not so hard a matter to passe them, as it is thought: The water falleth not downe from any high place, it is nothing else but that in the midst of the River there is

¹ From Hakluyt *Principall Navigations*, III. 236, London, 1600.

² *Vid.* p. 259 *supra* note 10.

³ *Vid.* p. 259 *supra* note 11.

⁴ The third Voyage of Cartier given above pp. 149-259.

⁵ Probably Guillaume Gaultier, sieur de Lambestil, who had married Françoise Grout the sister of Jean Grout, sieur de La Ruaudaye. *Vid.* Joüon des Longrais, *op. cit.*, 144.

⁶ This was Francis Gaultier's map which accompanied the edition of Peter Martyr's *De orbe novo decades VIII*, brought out by Richard Hakluyt at Paris in 1587. It is reproduced in the Glasgow reprint of Hakluyt's *Principall Navigations*, volume VIII, p. 272, 1904.

⁷ The St. Lawrence. *Vid.* p. 108 *supra* note 91.

⁸ *Vid.* p. 260 *supra*.

⁹ Lake Huron. *Vid.* p. 202 *supra*.

¹⁰ To St. Malo.

¹¹ In this map of 1587 Lake Huron extends from 60° northwards under the name of *Mare dulce*. As a result of this communication Hakluyt brought it down to 40° in his map of 1599.

¹² The latitude of the Lachine rapid is 45° 25'.

bad ground. It were best to build boates above the *Saults*; and it is easie to march or travell by land to the end of the three *Saults*¹: it is not above five leagues iourney. I have bene upon the toppe of a mountaine², which is at the foot of the *Saults*, where I have seene the said River beyond the sayd *Saultes*, which shewed unto us to be broader then it was where we passed it³. The people of the Countrey advertised us, that there are ten dayes iourney from the *Saults* unto this *Great Lake*⁴. We know not how many leagues they make to a dayes iourney. At this present I cannot write unto you more at large, because the messenger can stay no longer. Here therefore for the present I will ende, saluting you with my hearty commendations, praying God to give you your hearts desire. From S. Malo in haste this 19 day of June. 1587.

Your loving Friend,

Jaques Noel.

Cosin, I pray you doe me so much pleasure as to send mee a booke of the discovery of New Mexico⁵, and one of those new Mappes of the West Indies dedicated to M. Hakluyt the English Gentleman, which you sent to your brother in law Giles Walter⁶. I will not faile to informe my selfe, if there be any meane to find out those descriptions which Captain Cartier made after his two last voyages⁷ into Canada⁸.

¹ Probably the Lachine, Carillon and Long Sault rapids. *Vid* p. 169 *supra*.

² Mount Royal. *Vid.* p. 168 *supra*.

³ This broad expansion of the St. Lawrence above the rapid of Lachine is called lake St. Louis.

⁴ Lake Huron. *Cf.* Champlain *Œuvres*, IV, 19 *et seq.* and Sagard, *Grand voyage etc.* 60 *et seq.*

⁵ This was probably Martin Fumée's translation of Gomara's *Historia de las Indias*, of which the fifth edition containing for the first time the *Conquista de Méjico* appeared in 1584 under the title *Histoire generale des indes occidentales, et terres neuues, qui iusques à present ont esté descouuertes, Augmentee en ceste cinquiesme edition de la description de la nouvelle Espagne, & de la grande ville de Mexicque autrement nommee Tenuctilan*, Composee en Espagnol par François Lopez de Gomara, & traduite en François par le S. de Genillé Mart. Fumée Paris, MDLXXXIII in 8°.

⁶ *Cf.* p. 313 *supra* note 5.

⁷ Evidently the voyages of 1541 and 1543. *Cf.* Biggar, *The Early Trading Companies of New France*, 219.

⁸ Reprinted in the various subsequent editions of Hakluyt's *Principall Navigations*, vol. III, 290, London, 1810; vol. 13, 154-155, Edinburgh, 1889; vol. VIII, 272-273. Glasgow, 1904.

ERRATA:

For Trocadigash *read* Tracadigash

“ Pospébiac - “ Paspébiac

“ Perce - - “ Percé

APPENDIX VII.

MAGNETIC VARIATION IN CARTIER'S TIME.

By W. F. GANONG.

The fact that the compass does not everywhere point true north was undoubtedly known to Cartier, as to other navigators after the time of Columbus, though the matter was still too little understood to exert appreciable effect on navigation or cartography. Inspection of the various maps based upon Cartier's lost originals shows that on all of them the Gulf of St. Lawrence is drawn to the magnetic meridian, following exactly the compass as Cartier saw it, this topography being then revolved from left to right to make the magnetic meridian coincide with the true meridian to which the maps as a whole are drawn. Such appears indeed to have been the general practice down to the time of Champlain, whose small map of 1613, illuminatingly explained in his text, appears to represent the earliest map of any part of Canada, and so far as we have observed, of America, whereon the magnetic and true meridians appear in their correct relation.

Naturally, under the circumstances, Cartier's narrative gives no hint of the amount of the magnetic variation at that time, but the method of construction of the aforementioned maps permits some determination of it, with, however, limitations in accuracy imposed by the great imperfections of the map. To this end we may select certain lines, the longer the better, as permitting the errors of single observations to balance one another, and better yet if between places fixed by latitude observations, and measure the angle of deviation thereof from the true meridian on that map, as compared with the angle between corresponding lines on a modern chart, the difference in the angle yielding the deviation from true meridian on the original map. This method applied to the Jean Roze map of 1542¹,—the one which seems best to reflect Cartier's own map of his first voyage,—gives for five such

¹ *Vid.* E. T. Hamy, *Jean Roze, hydrographe dieppois*, etc., in *Bulletin de géographie historique et descriptive*, année 1889, pp. 87-96. Paris, 1890.

major lines 10° , 16° , 14° , 12° , and 14° , the mean of which is somewhat above 13° . Since Cartier's later voyages may be supposed to have improved the later maps, we naturally make the same measurements on the map which seems best to reflect the results of all of the Cartier voyages without other appreciable admixture, viz. the Desceliers of 1546; and the results are respectively 14° , 12° , 18° , 12° , 13° , with a mean just under 14° . So far as such data are concerned they would show that the magnetic variation at the time of Cartier's voyages was, for the central part of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, about 13.30° , where it is now about 28° .

When we seek to check this result by comparison with later observations, we meet with an almost complete absence of data for about two centuries; for Champlain gave no data for the Gulf region, and the published maps after his time were all set to the true meridian without mention of variation. Accuracy came with the surveys of Holland in 1765 and later, as embodied in the DesBarres Charts in the Atlantic Neptune, which give about 19° for the same general region. Since then the data are ample for determining the changes of cycle, as very clearly set forth in Lieut.-Colonel Sabine's *Contributions to Terrestrial Magnetism*, in the *Philosophical Transactions*, CXXXIX, 173-234, 1849, and in the later Admiralty charts.

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